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CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Chalmers Lectures, 1st ser

CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

BY THE

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"ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D.: AN ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY"

"SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY"

ETC. ETC.

PUBLISHED BY

OLIPHANT ANDERSON & FERRIER

EDINBURGH & LONDON

PRINTED BY

MORRISON AND GIBB, EDINBURGH

FOR

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, & FERRIER

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

PREFACE

THE *Chalmers Lectureship* was founded by Robert Macfie, Esq. of Airds and Oban, in memory of the late Thomas Chalmers, D.D., and as an expression of his interest in maintaining the principles of the Free Church of Scotland. With these ends in view, Mr. Macfie transferred to a Committee, to be appointed from time to time by the General Assembly, the sum of £5000, the half of the interest accruing from which was to be given to the Lecturer (who holds the office for four years), and the other half to providing means for sending a copy of the Lectures to every minister and missionary of the Free Church.

Six of the following chapters have been delivered as Lectures in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; but the Committee—considering the nature of my subject, and the circumstance that it is now half a century since the Disruption—have kindly allowed me to enlarge the scope of my book, and to give, not indeed a history of the Free Church, for no attempt has been made to write an account of all that has happened in it in chronological order, but a series of sketches descriptive of the leading experiences through which the Church has passed.

In preparing the record of *Contributions to Literature*, I have been greatly indebted to the help of Mr. Kennedy, the Librarian of New College, Miss Rainy, the Rev. R. Logan, Dr. George Smith, the Rev. A. Simpson, B.Sc., Glasgow, Dr. Charles M'Crie, Mr. Robert Young, and the Rev. James Hastings.

NORMAN L. WALKER.

EDINBURGH, *April* 1895.

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CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

WHAT LED TO THE DISRUPTION

WHEN the second quarter of the present century was beginning, signs of the stirrings of a new life appeared in this country almost everywhere.

These were manifested, for example, in the keen political agitation which sprang up. The people, dissatisfied with seeing power and privilege confined to the few, became clamorous for an extension of the suffrage, and Parliament was obliged to meet the demand by passing the Reform Bill of 1832. A historian, referring to the excited state of feeling which then prevailed, says that the nation had never before been so much in earnest since the days of the Long Parliament.

It was natural that the Churches should come to feel the swell of this tide. It was now that the Oxford Movement began which has told so influentially on the Church of England, and it was about the same time that that remarkable wakening up in Scotland took place which has affected so sensibly its subsequent history.

The new era here it is customary to trace almost wholly

to spiritual causes—to the conversion of Chalmers, the ministry of Dr. Andrew Thomson, the writings of Dr. M'Crie, and the evangelical revival which was the fruit of their labours. But it would be quite an oversight to take no account of the electric condition of the age, and of the strength of the currents that were then running in favour of the recognition of popular rights. It is undoubtedly in considerable measure to these currents that we are to ascribe the beginnings of that ecclesiastical agitation which ultimately culminated in the formation of the Free Church.

From the Reformation, the Scottish people had been taught to believe that they were entitled to have some say in the choice of their ministers. When Moderatism, however, became dominant, these rights were disregarded, and a very unsatisfactory state of things was the result. Congregations came either passively to acquiesce in the appointments made by patrons, no matter how unpalatable they were, or they sought relief by quietly seceding from the Establishment. But now a time had arrived when this was no longer to be submitted to. The popular will was discovered to be a more potential force than had been supposed in determining the character of public institutions, and demands were made requiring reforms in the Church as well as in the State.

Dr. Andrew Thomson at once took a radical view of the situation, and so early as 1825 insisted on the necessity for abolishing patronage altogether. But the Church was so little prepared then to go that length, that when in 1832—the year of the Reform Bill—a proposal was made in the General Assembly to consider "whether the call might not be restored to its constitutional and salutary efficiency," the reasonableness of such a motion was so little recognised that it was not allowed even to be sent to a Committee.

It is evident that at that time, as afterwards, the Moderate

party imagined that they could stem the tide which had begun to flow, by opposing all changes; but in doing so they simply exhibited one of their most distinguishing characteristics. In some quarters they are credited with possessing a great deal of worldly wisdom. But the truth is that their wisdom is of that sort which sees clearly only within a very limited circle. They have always shown themselves to be incapable of taking a comprehensive view of things, or of estimating the power of forces other than those that can be seen. As matters then stood, it was no more possible to suppress the determination of the people to have more influence in the Church, than it was to arrest the popular movement for some reform in the State. The time had come when more or less of "acceptability" behoved to be recognised as an indispensable condition in the formation of the pastoral tie. And prudence and policy (to speak of nothing higher) were unmistakably with the Evangelicals when they addressed themselves to the business of at least limiting the powers of the lay patron.

But the difficulty was to find the method of readjustment to which the minimum of objection could be taken.

Nominally the "call" was still maintained. Before any man could be ordained, he needed to be able to show not only a presentation by a patron, but also an invitation from the people among whom he was to settle. This had become a mere formality, and nothing was really considered but the will of the patron. But the call might have been vitalised, and the Church might have decreed that no settlement should take place where a clear majority of the communicants did not express a distinct wish for it. This was regarded, however, to begin with, as too advanced a step, and a more modest and moderate proposal was made—to the effect that a presentation should be set aside only when a majority of the

male heads of families in a parish (all of them being communicants) came forward to express their dissent from it. In this scheme there was nothing extreme. All the communicants were not allowed a voice in the matter, but only the *male* communicants, and not all of these either; standing was conceded to none of them who were not heads of families. Besides, they were asked not to come forward and to express their hearty concurrence in a presentation, but simply to say if they viewed it with positive aversion.

An Act embodying this arrangement was introduced in the Assembly of 1833 by Lord Moncreiff, but it was then defeated. In the following year, however, it was again proposed by Dr. Chalmers, and carried. And its suitableness to the time was at once demonstrated. The scandal of intrusions into parishes was stopped—the interest of the people in the Church was increased—and the process of secession was arrested. But ere very long the sky became suddenly overcast. In connection with a vacancy which had occurred at Auchterarder, the presentee named by the patron was set aside by the Presbytery, because with only two exceptions the whole of the male heads of families in the parish objected to his settlement among them. The right of the Presbytery to do that was called in question, the competency of the "Veto Act" (as it was called) was disputed, and the Civil Courts were appealed to, to say whether the General Assembly was entitled to decree as it had done.

Then began a "Conflict" which raged for a number of years, and in connection with which other questions came to be discussed of far graver interest than that of the place of the people in the Church.

What conclusions the Civil Courts arrived at, after reviewing the whole situation, have been given with, one might say, almost brutal frankness, in a comparatively recent work

edited by Professor Story.[1] The section of that work which deals with the "Relation of the Church to the Law and to the State," was written by Dr. Macgeorge, a recognised authority on that particular subject; and the following is his summary of the judgments pronounced first by the Court of Session and afterwards by the House of Lords:—

"It was authoritatively settled," he says—

"1. That patronage was a civil right which it was within the province of the Civil Court to deal with and to vindicate.

"2. That Presbyteries were under an obligation of statute law to take on trials a presentee of a patron with a view to his induction if found qualified, and this was a civil ministerial duty enforceable by civil law.

"3. That it was a ministerial civil duty incumbent on Presbyteries to fill up vacancies in parishes according to law, and that this duty could not be evaded by any attempt to separate the spiritual office from the temporalities.

"4. That the Veto Act, as interfering with these civil rights and obligations, was outwith the powers and jurisdiction of the Church, and illegal.

"And 5. That the refusal of the Church Courts to fulfil a statutory duty subjected them to damages."

It seems almost incredible nowadays that anyone could suppose that the Church of Scotland might have settled down content under such conclusions; but to the author of the summary now given, the conclusions indicated seem to have been entirely satisfactory, and what is more strange, his arguments in defence of them have been pronounced to be "unanswerable" in high quarters within the present Established Church.

The Auchterarder Case, he held, lay in a nutshell. "The whole question," he said, "arose from the refusal of the

[1] *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present.* London: William Mackenzie.

Presbytery to adopt the introductory step of taking the presentee on trials." It was true, in a sense; but within that question lay another touching the heart of the whole controversy, namely, this: "Was the element of acceptability to be considered or no?" In the opinion of the Moderate party, that was a point of no importance; or rather, it was one in regard to which they had made up their minds. The will of the people was not to be considered at all. On that subject Dr. Macgeorge spoke quite explicitly; for here, according to him, was the effect of the Veto Act: "The whole matter of the settlement of a parish minister was then for the first time taken out of the hands of the Church and *committed to an irresponsible body of laymen.*" "The irresponsible body of laymen," it will be recollected, were the male heads of families, being communicants, who represented the congregations to be ministered to; and surely no language could more significantly than this express the scorn felt by the writer for the principle of popular election.

The reason why the Presbytery did not proceed to take the presentee on trials was that his unacceptability had been already proclaimed. This was held by them to be at the very outset an insuperable hindrance to his ordination, and to discover afterwards that he had Greek and Hebrew enough would have been nothing to the purpose. To Dr. Macgeorge and those associated with him the attitude thus assumed was an intolerable one, but it was so simply because they had no sympathy with the position which the Church felt itself constrained to take up. It had finally adopted the principle of *Non-Intrusion*, and it was not to be driven to surrender it by any consideration whatever.

When the Auchterarder decisions were made known, indeed, it felt constrained to survey the situation afresh, so as to decide upon its course in future. It had come to the parting

of two ways. On the one hand if it acquiesced in the judgments which had pronounced it to be legal to force men into parishes against the will of the people, it would put back the hands on its dial-plate and undo the work of the reformation that had been begun; while, on the other hand, if it persevered with the "Forward Movement" which had commenced so auspiciously, it would expose itself to collisions with the Civil Courts, and run risks the seriousness of which could only be vaguely apprehended.

There were, however, three considerations which seemed to shut it up to the conclusion to which it came to go on.

One was that to which we have already referred the character of the times. The era of the democracy had begun. The people were asserting their rights in the State in a manner which compelled attention, and it seemed absurd to suppose that in such a Church as that of Scotland, the male heads of families being communicants would ever again consent to be regarded in connection with the election of their parish ministers as a mere "irresponsible body of laymen."

Another significant circumstance was, that the convictions current on the subject of popular election had been undergoing a suggestive change. At first, the belief that the people ought to be consulted in the choice of their ministers was with many thought of as simply a reasonable thing. Men, it was argued, have a place of influence in political, and why not also in ecclesiastical connections? But as time went on, feelings deepened. And at the date referred to, popular election was regarded as of the nature of a right. To take part in the choice of a minister was then thought of not simply as a privilege—it was a duty. And to deprive communicants of the qualification was to take away something which "appertained" to them. Conscience, therefore, being involved in this way, the question was not one to be settled by a Law Court.

Further, however, there was a third thing of importance. The new powers which had been conceded to the people had immensely quickened their interest in the Church and in its work. Experience, in short, had come to give an emphatic sanction to the Act. And it was clearly seen that to return to the position which was formerly occupied would imply an arrest, more or less, on the new enterprises which had been entered on.

Here, then, already a deadlock had been reached. Even on the point of the settlement of ministers the Church could not conscientiously or safely go back. The Civil Courts insisted that Presbyteries were bound, under pain of damages, to take on trials whomsoever a patron chose to name, and if they found his scholarship satisfactory, to induct him into a parish no matter although all the people objected to him. In other words, *Intrusion* was pronounced to be strictly legal, —and peace was made possible only under conditions which involved the maintenance of a Moderatism from whose blighting influence the Church was only beginning to recover, and the encouragement of secessions by which the Establishment was being fatally undermined.

Under the impulse of the new life which, as has been said, was infused into it, the Church began missions to the heathen and in the Colonies, it took steps toward commencing work among the Jews, and it covered the whole land at home with extension churches. In the belief, too, that it had a free hand in spiritual matters, it addressed itself to the perfecting of its home machinery. As a first step, it had given effect to the constitutional principle of making acceptability to the people an indispensable condition in the formation of the pastoral tie ; and further, assuming that it was within its right to say who should sit in its own Courts, it invited the ministers of the new congregations which had been

formed to constitute kirk sessions in conformity with the Presbyterian system, and to sit in these, and in the Superior Judicatories.

In proceeding, however, to take these steps, she was suddenly informed that she was exceeding her powers. The Civil Courts imperiously intervened, and not only ordered the induction of all otherwise qualified presentees, whatever might be thought about them by the people among whom they were to labour, but pronounced to be of no legal value or effect the acts of all the Presbyteries into which ministers, other than parochial, had been admitted.

The claims thus advanced startled the Church, but the question which was now raised was not at all a new one, and the crisis was met with perfect intelligence. The conclusion had been definitely come to, that the intrusion of a minister on a reclaiming congregation could neither be for the glory of God nor for the interest of religion, and the demand made that that should be assented to was refused. The Church at the same time declined to recognise the right of the State to interdict the carrying out, throughout all its bounds, of the Presbyterian system, the attitude thus taken up being assumed on the principle that Christ has conferred certain powers of self-government on His Church, and that these behove to be exercised with a conscientious regard to His will.

The resistance thus offered to the decrees of the civil judges was resented, and a violent conflict was the consequence. Not only did the Courts of Law continue to maintain the position they had taken up, but they proceeded to fresh acts of aggression into what was regarded as the spiritual domain. They drew a cordon round a particular district of country, and forbade any but certain ministers to preach the gospel within it. They interposed in processes of discipline, and directed

procedure in them to be stopped. They ordered Presbyteries, under a threat of damages, to ordain and to refuse to ordain men to the ministry. And they treated as null and void the most solemn Acts of Assemblies.

Of course, no Scottish Civil Court would, in so many words and in the abstract, claim an inherent right to do all these things. The assaults made on the independence of the Church were of the nature of reprisals. The Church, in the judgment of the Court of Session, was intruding into the sphere of the State, and that Court sought to vindicate the authority of the State by carrying the war, as it were, into the enemy's country. It was perilous policy to pursue, because it can never be good in the long run for a litigant to take the law into his own hands. But, besides, it was needless; other methods of punishing the offenders were open, apart from those resorted to. The Church never denied the right of the State to take back its endowments if it did not think they were being properly employed; and no objection, in principle, would have been offered if, for example, to Mr. Edward of Marnoch or to Mr. Young of Auchterarder had been assigned the stipends of their respective parishes. But it was different when the Court of Session ordered the Presbytery of Strathbogie to proceed to the induction of Mr. Edward, and insisted on the clerical members of that Presbytery being regarded as ministers of the Church of Scotland after they had been deposed by the General Assembly. The conclusion which seemed to be reached was that the Church had no independence, but was bound to do whatever the Civil Courts chose to direct.

This description of the situation, however, was not accepted by all as strictly correct. What the civil authorities said to the Church, it was argued, is this: "You *have* a domain if you will only keep to it, and when we resort to pressure in the way we have done, it is simply to prevent you from

transgressing the limits which have been set to you. Do not exceed your powers, and you will be strenuously upheld in the exercise of them."

But here a difficulty presented itself—a crucial difficulty. What are the limits referred to? and when any question arises as to their extent, who is to decide between the contending parties?

The answer was given in an exceedingly plain and explicit way by Sir James Graham. This is what he said:—

"Whether a particular matter in dispute is so entirely spiritual as to fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Church Courts, may often be a difficult question; but it is a question of law, and questions of law are decided in Courts of Law, and questions of jurisdiction are also ended there—all subject to an appeal to the House of Lords."

Nothing could be simpler. The Church and the State have each a province, and within their respective spheres each must rule. But, it is admitted, there may arise now and again questions of jurisdiction. What are the limits of the State's dominion? When may it be said to keep to its domain, or unwarrantably to go beyond it? That is a matter easy of determination, we were told. Above both Church and State alike is a serene tribunal—the Court of Session, supplemented by the House of Lords—whose business it is to look at all legal difficulties in a dispassionate spirit, and to its deliverances instant submission must be rendered.

This theory commended itself as self-evidently just and reasonable to the politicians of the day and to many of the lawyers, but it is difficult to understand how it could have given satisfaction to any intelligent Presbyterian, and especially how it could have been accepted—as it continues to be—by the Established Church of Scotland.

One objection to it lies at the threshold. It is customary

to speak of the union between Church and State as being based upon a *contract.* The term does not sound very apposite when one thinks of the manner in which the Act of Queen Anne imposing Patronage was passed. To that Act the Church offered a unanimous opposition, and it was driven through Parliament not with its concurrence, but in the face of its strenuous dissent. Let us suppose, however, that there was a contract. In that case it is surely not too much to expect that the ordinary laws respecting contracts will be observed by both parties. If, for instance, a difference of opinion should arise as to its terms, it would not be reasonable to compel one of the parties to submit the quarrel to the arbitration of a Board composed entirely of representatives from the other side. But that is precisely what the Church is asked to do when it is required to submit the question of its jurisdiction to the Courts of Law. It is notorious that the qualifications of the men who sit in these Courts are civil and not spiritual, and that they hold their appointments from the State only. In determining points of jurisdiction, religious as well as political considerations require to be taken into account, and no provision has ever been made that there shall be found on the Bench any capacity to estimate these. If the subjects involved were of comparatively little moment, or if there was little or no likelihood of serious mistakes being made, the Church might, conceivably, have acquiesced in the constitution of such a lopsided Court of Appeal. But the case looks different when we remember that the questions submitted for judgment may often concern, in a vital way, the honour of the King, and also when we call to mind the utterances which have once and again come from the lips of the highest legal authorities.

One of these utterances it may be worth while to reproduce here. It will help to show what the Church may lay its

account with bearing, if it assents to surrender to the State that supreme right of review to which it lays claim. Here is what was said by Lord President Hope:—

"That our Saviour is the Head of the Kirk of Scotland in any temporal or legislative or judicial sense, is a position which I can signify by no other name than absurdity. The Parliament is the head of the Church, from whose Acts, and from whose Acts alone, it exists as the National Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers. Who," he added, "gave the Church Courts any jurisdiction? The law, and that alone, gave it, and the law defines what it has so given."

Any Church might well have trembled to commit the keeping of its liberties to Courts in which such sentiments were received with satisfaction.

But these and like utterances might conceivably be set aside as exceptional and extraordinary. Few judges, it may be said, will now talk in this style; and what is valuable and trustworthy in the Courts of Appeal is that they form, as has been said, a serene tribunal, which rises superior to the passions and prejudices of common life, and is able to look at whatever is brought under its notice in a calm, candid, and dispassionate spirit.

But, alas! we can no longer maintain this beautiful ideal conception of the Court of Session. One of the judges themselves has spoken. He has taken us behind the scenes, and the representation he gives of their state of feeling has disenchanted us. All through the Conflict, Lord Cockburn was writing down daily in his Journal his impressions of what was taking place, and some of his entries are exceedingly significant.

"The majority" [of the law lords], he says, "made it apparent that their legal opinions were affected by their view

of the expediency of the Veto Act. They wished to preserve patronage."

In other words, the members of the Court of Appeal —the most of them—were privately persuaded that the demand for popular election was improper, and they were swayed accordingly. That is to say, they had their private prejudices which warped their view of the situation, and so far affected the value of their judgment.

Further, however, what Lord Cockburn has to say about the spirit of his brethren is rather fitted to shake our confidence in the serenity of the Court.

"On looking back on the matter," says he, "what I am chiefly sorry for is the Court of Session. The mere purity of the judges it would be ludicrous to doubt. They all delivered what each, after due inquiry, honestly believed to be the law; but passion sometimes invades the Bench, and when it does, it obstructs the discovery of truth as effectually as partiality can. The majority of the Court may have been right at first and to a certain extent, but they soon got rabid, in so much that there seemed to be no feeling except that of pleasure at winging wild Churchmen."

"Passion sometimes invades the Bench." "They soon got rabid." So writes one who was in the best possible position for knowing the truth. It is a melancholy picture, but surely there is another thing to be said about it. *It is a suggestive picture.* The Court of Session, when acting within its own sphere, is worthy of all honour. But when one thinks of the light in which it regards the Church—as a body which has no jurisdiction except that which the State may choose to give to it, and when one recalls the treatment to which it subjected the Evangelicals when they were fighting for what they believed the crown rights of the Redeemer (it had no feeling save that of pleasure at winging wild Churchmen)—one may

well wonder that any earnest man should be willing to commit to it the supreme authority to redd the marches between the secular and the sacred.

That is the arrangement, however, to which the present Established Church appears to have given its assent. The State is saying to it: "You have undoubtedly a province within which you will have all the countenance and all the support which we can give you. But, of course, if any question should ever arise as to the limits of that province, the answer to it must be given by the Court of Session—subject to an appeal to the House of Lords." Experience is a great teacher. It is not likely that a serious collision will occur soon. Both parties will do their best to avoid the awakening of a new controversy. But before 1843 no truce was even proposed. The Conflict was acute. The Civil Courts were requiring an immediate and a practical acceptance of positions like these: that it is not within the competency of the Church to regulate as it thinks right the formation of the pastoral tie, or to say who should sit in its own Courts, or to ordain and depose men without leave given; and to secure its liberty it saw no course open to it but that of surrendering all the benefits of an Establishment and taking up an independent position outside.

Of course this step was not one which was taken lightly. The most earnest and persevering efforts were made to persuade the Legislature to interfere by giving relief from the law as a majority of the judges were interpreting it. But the Government of the day turned a deaf ear to all the appeals that were addressed to it. It unfortunately allowed itself to believe that no serious crisis was being reached, and that all the threatened troubles would be overcome by a display of firmness. By and by the leading advocates of this policy were brought to see their mistake; and Lord Aberdeen

and Sir James Graham were profuse in their expressions of regret that they had had any hand in bringing about the catastrophe.

But at the moment a spirit of infatuation prevailed, and a great body of earnest ministers and people were compelled to seek freedom for their Church by severing their connection with the State altogether.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FREE CHURCH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

WHEN the 18th of May 1843 was approaching, a question of some interest and importance presented itself for consideration, namely, that of how the contemplated separation from the State could best be carried into effect. It was believed that a majority of the members elected to the General Assembly were on the Evangelical side, and it seemed not unreasonable to propose that the act of disruption should be decided upon by a vote of the representative House.

But, for reasons which were held to be sufficient at the time, a less dramatic method was adopted. The past Moderator, Dr. Welsh, preached the usual sermon; but instead of proceeding afterwards to the steps connected with the constitution of a new Assembly, he read a Protest, setting forth the grounds on which the Church could no longer submit to the intrusion of the Civil Courts on its domain, and, having laid this on the table, he moved toward the door. In doing so he was at once followed by most of the men who had been prominently interesting themselves in the revival of religious life in Scotland, and the benches on one side of the House became practically empty.

For what then happened due preparation had been made. The scene of the Disruption was St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, and at the foot of the hill on which the church stands, a great hall—that of Tanfield, Canonmills—had been

taken, into which the protesters were received. This hall was crowded to the ceiling in anticipation of the event, and an immense sensation was produced when Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Candlish, Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Guthrie, and other well-known men appeared, leading the band that was now to form itself into the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

The impression produced by the event which had now taken place was remarkable. The story has often been told of the emotion displayed on the occasion by Lord Jeffrey. But Mr. Gladstone also, in a letter to Dr. Robert Buchanan, mentions a case which was in its way at least equally striking.

"A friend of mine," he wrote, "a conscientious and earnest-minded Roman Catholic, well acquainted with our country and language, told me that, amid his discouragements, in witnessing the progress of unbelief in so many quarters, he had found a singular comfort in the testimony borne by the ministers and members of the Free Church of Scotland to the authority of conscience and of positive religious belief."

As the example given in this case of fidelity to principle was recognised in such a quarter to be so remarkable, it is not surprising to learn that by many of less faith the Disruption was thought of as something that was little likely to take place. The forecast, anyhow, as to the number who would go out was, in certain quarters, exceedingly moderate. A common estimate was that half a dozen of the leaders in the agitation might be found to be foolish enough to sacrifice their livings, but that the great mass of the ministers would be content to protest and remain.

It was, therefore, startling news to hear that as many as 474 men were prepared to sign the Deed of Demission, and that so great was the popular interest in the movement that it was hailed everywhere with signs of general enthusiasm.

Lord Cockburn has left behind him in his Journal a graphic account of what happened on this occasion.

"Those who had withdrawn," he says, "were joined by about 97 theological students from the College of Edinburgh, and by a majority of those in Aberdeen. But the most extraordinary and symptomatic adherence was by about 200 probationers in Scotland. Erastianism and patronage being odious to the people, the Free Church, which opposes these, has more Whiggism in it than Toryism; but, being founded purely on religious and not at all on political principles, it has plenty of both,—and it is distinguished from all past or existing sects of Scotch Presbyterian Dissenters in this, that its adherents are not almost entirely of the lower orders. They have already peers, baronets, and knights, provosts and sheriffs, and a long train of gentry. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh walked with them from St. Andrew's Church to Canonmills, where the Lord Provost of Glasgow and the Sheriff of Mid-Lothian joined them. And that extraordinary procession was dignified by about eight old Moderators, two Principals of Universities, and four Theological Professors. It has often been said that Presbytery is not a religion for a gentleman; and it is certainly true that hitherto such of our gentlemen as have not been of our Church were nearly sure to be found among the Episcopalians. This is the first time that our gentry are not only not ashamed of Presbytery, but not ashamed of it with the additional vulgarity of unendowed Dissent . . . .This is the most revolutionary event in modern history. Protestantism was our first Reformation; Presbytery our second; this erection of Presbytery freed from the State is our third."

When the Assembly had been constituted, there was no question as to who should be called to fill the chair. Above all the great men of the time rose, pre-eminent, Dr. Thomas

Chalmers, and although he had been Moderator before in the undivided Church, he was by acclamation elected to occupy the office again.

Chalmers occupies so great a place in the history of Scotland and of the Free Church, that his name can never be forgotten. From Anstruther, where he was born in 1780, he was sent at twelve to the University of St. Andrews. There he was at first a somewhat idle student, but in course of time there was awakened in him a great love for mathematics, and to this and kindred sciences he became so devoted, that even after his settlement at Kilmany in 1803 he gave more time to them than to his ministerial work. But by and by a great change came over him. He was converted; and his fervid preaching not only at once told on his own parish, but also gained for him a reputation throughout the Church. In 1815 he was translated to Glasgow, where first in the Tron parish, and afterwards in St. John's, he did a great work through the pulpit and the press and as a philanthropist. All through, however, he retained his love for academic pursuits, and in 1823 he accepted the Chair of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews. Here he remained till 1828, when he was transferred to Edinburgh. There he held the position of Theological Professor in the University till 1843, when he retired to become Principal and Primarius Divinity Professor in the New College. He died in 1847.

"It is not often," wrote Thomas Carlyle to Dr. Hanna, "that the world has seen men like Thomas Chalmers, nor can the world afford to forget them; or in its most careless mood be willing to do it. Probably the time is coming when it will be more apparent than it is now to everyone, that here, intrinsically, was the chief Scottish man of his time,—a man possessed of such a massive geniality of intellect and

temper as belonged to no other man. What a grand simplicity, broad humour, blent so kindly with enthusiastic ardour and blazing thought—a man of such mild, noble valour, strength, and piety—above all things, of such perfect veracity, I have not met with in these times. Honour to him, honour belongs to him, and to the essential work he did,—an everlasting continuance among the possessions of this world."

It was a matter of immense importance to the Free Church that it had now as its leading counsellor "the chief Scottish man of his time," and what he said on taking the chair is entitled to be read with special attention. His utterance on the occasion, in fact, although if he had lived he might have in some ways expressed himself differently, has always been regarded as of the nature of a manifesto.

Naturally, the first business attended to by the Assembly was that of its own organisation, and the mover of the motion to that end was Dr. Candlish, who was at once recognised as the leader of the House. Born in 1806 at Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish was removed in his infancy to Glasgow, and it was there that he received all his education, and that he was licensed in 1828. His experience as a probationer was not very happy. He was appointed assistant first in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, and afterwards at Bonhill; but his prospects of a permanent settlement at home did not seem bright, and the idea of his proceeding to Canada began to be entertained. His expatriation, however, was prevented by his receiving an invitation to assist Mr. Martin of St. George's, Edinburgh, and of that parish he became the minister in 1834. His early reputation was not quite satisfactory. Dr. Cunningham suspected that his sympathies were with the Moderate party, and for five years after his ordination he took no part in public affairs. But his true

position became more and more defined; and in the Assembly of 1839, at the instigation of Dr. Robert Buchanan, he was moved to deliver his first speech. The speech settled his place at once, and from that time onward he grew in influence, until in 1843 his was accepted as, after that of Chalmers, the guiding hand in the reconstruction of the Church.

What Dr. Candlish proposed was that all the ministers in town who concurred in the Protest, with one representative elder from every adhering kirk session, should be recognised as members of the Assembly. This motion was seconded by Dr. Macfarlane of Greenock,—a man to whom, besides his personal qualities, which were of the highest kind, belonged the distinction of having resigned the richest living in the Church,—and was carried unanimously. The arrangement thus come to secured that the House was very much larger than it would otherwise have been, and came to embody more perfectly the mind of the whole denomination.

It has been said that Dr. Candlish was recognised as the leader of the House, but there was another who might well be spoken of as having shared that honour with him, namely, Mr. Alexander Dunlop. Mr. Dunlop was a son of the Laird of Keppoch, and was born at Greenock in 1798. Called to the Bar in 1820, he was led early by circumstances to take an interest in the Poor Laws, and in that connection was conducted further to concern himself about the welfare of the Church. Gradually he became involved in the movements of the time, and when the Disruption arrived no layman stood higher than he did in the esteem of the Evangelicals, or was recognised as having done more to secure their liberties. Lord Cockburn's references to him in his Journal are of the most generous kind. "Dunlop," he says, "is the purest of enthusiasts. The generous devotion with which he has given himself to the cause [of the Church] has

retarded and will probably arrest the success of his very considerable talent and learning; but a crust of bread and a cup of cold water would satisfy all the worldly desires of this most disinterested person. His luxury would be in his obtaining justice for his favourite and oppressed Church, which he espouses from no love of power or any other ecclesiastical object, but solely from piety and love of the people." It was true that his devotion to the Church hindered his success at the Bar, and yet, in his case, this was true also, that "virtue brought its own reward." At a comparatively early period in his career he was offered a Sheriffship, and declined it because he believed it would stand in the way of his usefulness. Later on it was put within his power to become a judge, or even the Lord Advocate, but he refused both positions. The only honour he accepted was that of being returned as Member of Parliament for his native town; and his closing years were spent in acting as one of the most honoured and influential of our Scottish representatives. To Mr. Dunlop belongs the distinction of having drafted our great Church-State papers, the Claim of Rights and the Protest.

That such a man should have taken a prominent part in the first Assembly was to have been expected, and in point of fact it was he who, on the opening day, proposed the taking of the necessary steps toward the setting of the machinery of the Church in motion. These steps indicated at once how much of practical wisdom was at work even amid all the enthusiasm of the occasion.

Six Committees were named: (1) to arrange the business of the House; (2) to report as to the best means of providing ordinances where these were needed, to plant churches and to arrange Presbyteries; (3) to see to the education of students for the ministry, and to establish schools; (4) to

attend to the secular affairs of the Church; (5) to promote friendly intercourse with other bodies of Christians; and (6) to prepare addresses to be sent to those who had adhered to the Church throughout the country, and letters for transmission to friendly Churches at home and abroad.

Chalmers, Candlish, Dunlop,—these were undoubtedly the men of greatest mark in the Assembly, but around them were gathered a larger body, probably, of abler men than had ever before been associated together in the history of the Scottish Church. Among these may be named Cunningham, Buchanan, Guthrie, Gordon, Welsh, Macdonald, Macfarlane, M'Cosh, *ministers*; and Spiers, Monteith, Makgill-Crichton, and John Hamilton, *elders*. Under the guidance of such counsellors the Church entered on its career, not impelled by a blind enthusiasm, but directed by a far-seeing prudence, the effects of which were soon seen all over the country.

In an Assembly meeting under the peculiar circumstances of 1843, it might have been thought difficult to find business enough to occupy it throughout the ordinary period of time. The Committees appointed could not report at once, and no surprise could have been felt if a prorogation had taken place after the Deed of Demission had been signed.

But the proceedings were not so limited. Although it was the opening of a new chapter in Scottish ecclesiastical history, it was not the beginning of an entirely new book. And for one thing, a report had to be given in of what had been done by a Provisional Committee which, in anticipation of a Disruption, had been appointed by the Convocation in November.

This Committee had divided itself into three sections. The first, at whose head was Mr. Dunlop, had concerned itself about providing places of worship for the outgoing congregations. The second, whose Convener was Dr. Candlish,

had had in view the furnishing of ordinances in all places where there was likely to be an adhering population. And the third, which had been under the direction of Dr. Chalmers, had been engaged in the raising of funds to meet the expected emergency.

Mr. Dunlop reported that he had been in communication with architects of reputation as to plans for inexpensive churches, and he appealed to the richer congregations to abstain from erecting ornamental places of worship for themselves until the poorer districts had been provided for. He also indicated that already signs had appeared of a disposition on the part of some landed proprietors to refuse sites, and stated that remedies would be forthcoming in the shape of tents and sailing ships, etc.

Dr. Candlish in his report told of the correspondence he had had with all parts of the country in regard to the wants which would require to be met, and added that since the opening of the Assembly his Committee had been holding conferences with representatives from the different Synods. "Our object," he said, "in conferring with them, and taking up Presbytery by Presbytery, was to receive statements as to their wants, and as to how such and such a parish or district was to be supplied, and whether they should be supplied through the medium of a fixed charge or by missionary expedients. There have been various interesting facts," he added, "brought out in these communications — facts that must go, so far as facts can go, to convince an ungodly world of the reality and power of Christian principle. I cannot but repeat what I have stated at other and smaller meetings, that it is humbling to those whose sacrifices are comparatively insignificant—humbling to witness men making up their minds to leave the homes where they have lived in love and peace for years, not merely to remove to some other

town or street or cottage, but to be under the necessity of sending their families sixty or seventy miles from them, while they themselves must look out for some 'prophet's chamber,' and occupy it in solitude, that they may still be near and minister among their flocks. What more convincing proof of the sacrifice can be given than this, that for the purpose of visiting his people, we find a man making his home in a yacht, in which a cabin has to be fitted up, living apart from his family, sailing from island to island and from bay to bay, having no home on the land, but compelled to live on the bosom of the deep? And yet these men make up their minds to such a sacrifice for the sake of the truth; and the marvel is that they seem unaware of the sacrifice they are making, and that they speak of these arrangements just as they would speak of removing their houses from one street to another,—they speak of them with the same coolness and indifference with which you and I would speak of removing ourselves and our families to another part of the town. This is a specimen of the high and holy principle with which they are actuated, this calm determination to meet and overcome every difficulty which is interposed in the path of duty."

The report on Finance submitted by Dr. Chalmers was received with astonishment. At the Convocation in November, when he had set forth a scheme for the sustentation of the ministry, from which he had promised something like £100,000 a year, he had been listened to with a smile of good-natured incredulity. His forecast was then reckoned a mere "Vision of Utopia." Now, what he had before presented to "the eye of the understanding," he was able to place before "the eye of the senses." Six hundred and eighty-seven associations had been at work in all parts of Scotland, and from these had been received, or were in the way of being received,

£150,341 for building purposes, and £72,687 for the Sustentation Fund, making a total of £223,028. "That this amount," said Dr. Chalmers, "will not only be upheld, but greatly increased, we are warranted to hope"; and he went on to say: "At the hazard of being regarded as a Utopian this second time, I will now make another confident avowal,—that if we only make a proper use of the summer that is before us in stirring up, I don't say the people of Scotland, but that portion of them who are the friends of our Protesting Church,—if we do what we might and what we ought,—we will not only be able to repair the whole Disruption, but will get landed in the great and glorious work of church extension. . . . We shall not stop short, I trust, in our great and glorious enterprise, till 'the light of the gospel be carried to every cottage door within the limits of the Scottish territory.' . . . There is an indefinite field of Christian usefulness before us, and we must not let down our exertions till the optimism of our condition as a Church be fully realised."

He closed his speech almost in a spirit of exultation. "It will indeed," he said, "be a noble thing if, after having knocked at the door of two successive Goverments, I found no response whatever to our appeal for the means of extending religious instruction to the poorer classes of society, it shall be found that the collective will of the country itself—the combined energies of the people—have enabled us to accomplish that for the accomplishment of which we implored in vain the aid of two successive Governments in this country. You have made your appeal—you have knocked at the door of the population for not so great a number of months as you did of years at the door of the Government. From it you received no response whatever. Something, indeed, was spoken of,—a sort of cheapening, a sort of higgling was going on,—some talk of £10,000 a year. It is not two months yet, and the

effect of your appeal to the generosity and collective mind of the country—from people of all ranks and classes—from some instances of landed proprietors and grandees down to the humblest of the population—the response is a gift of upwards of £200,000 to the great cause of moral and religious instruction in the country."

That place should have been found in the first Assembly for reports like these can be easily understood. But in ordinary times what largely occupies attention is the regular work of the Church, and it might seem as if, at this stage, there could be no occasion or opportunity to speak of that. Such an assumption, however, would have implied that a new body had come into existence and was now entering on a new career. To act as if that were true would have been to ignore the significance of the Disruption. The Church by separating from the State had not lost its identity. It was the same body which for ten years had been contending for its independence; and hence, in arranging for the business of the House, space was given as usual for reports of the "Five Schemes."

Dr. Keith, who had been Convener of the Jewish Committee in the Establishment, now submitted the report which he would have given, in another place, if the Disruption had not occurred. It was a lengthy report, and one of quite unusual interest, the labours of our missionaries in Pesth having been enjoying a very special blessing.

The Foreign Mission Committee was not so represented. Dr. Brunton, the Convener, had not come out, and a new Convener—Dr. Gordon—had to be appointed. But Dr. Candlish, in answering for the scheme, announced the general expectation that all the missionaries would join the Free Church; and added: "I trust that the Foreign Scheme of our Protesting Church will be upheld and maintained with even increased

efficiency, notwithstanding the demand for funds for our home operations, and that we will give proof to the Christian world, and even to the ungodly world, of the soundness of that maxim referred to by our Moderator a day or two ago, that home and foreign missionary associations mutually act and react on one another, and that the very increase of the sum received for our home operations will be the pledge of a large increase in the fund available for foreign missions." Dr. Candlish further intimated that a new series of the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* was in preparation, and that copies would probably be forthcoming before the Assembly closed.

Dr. Welsh, in submitting the report of the Committee for "Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies and in Foreign States," referred at some length to the history of the enterprise which had first taken shape under the direction of Dr. Burns of Paisley, and which had been gradually extending the sphere of its operations. Dr. Cunningham proposed that, as they had resolved to carry on the Jewish and India Mission, so they should, by God's blessing, carry on the Colonial Mission also. And the proposal was accepted with great applause.

The Home Mission report was not so satisfactory. The labours of the Committee had been much embarrassed by the prevalent controversies. Now, however, joy was expressed that the Church was free from the entanglements which had beset it, and a new era, it was hoped, had begun. At the same time, much of the work which had formerly been done by the Committee was now undertaken by other agencies, and for the present nothing was left for it to do but to encourage young men aiming at the ministry.

If this scheme was lessened in importance by the Disruption, there was another whose importance was immensely enhanced,—we refer to that whose object was Education. Dr.

Welsh again appeared to represent this Committee, and his report dealt naturally rather with the future than with the past. Some things, he pointed out, required to be attended to at once, such as the institution of a Theological College. Other things were not quite so urgent, but could not for long be overlooked. Among these were (1) universities for instruction in all the branches of knowledge, and (2) schools—including grammar and elementary schools—and commencing with a Normal school. For all this, he said, at least £200,000 would be immediately needed.

And here one cannot help remarking upon the faith and courage with which these various schemes were taken up. It might have been thought that the Church would have seen difficulty enough in facing even such work as was necessary for its bare existence, and would have postponed for a time the consideration of everything else. But nothing seemed to daunt or discourage it. As opening after opening presented itself, it entered in without a moment's hesitation, and burdens were, with a light heart, undertaken by this one section of the people of Scotland, from which, it is probable, the unbroken Assembly would have shrunk.

But the whole time of the House was not spent in the ways we have described. A considerable portion of it was given to the reception of deputations from outside, who appeared to tell of the interest which those whom they represented felt in the events that had occurred.

The first of these delegations to be heard was that from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. It had been commissioned to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, but that body they recognised as meeting in Canonmills. "We are sent," said Mr. Denham of Derry, "to appear before the Church of our fathers, and we feel bound to regard this Assembly as the representative of that Church. We feel and

we act upon the conviction that you are not schismatics, that you are the true Church of Scotland, and we have therefore come and tabled our commission with you."

Dr. Cooke of Belfast, probably the greatest man that the Irish Church ever produced, was not a member of the deputation, but as he was present in the Assembly he was invited to speak, and he did so with great heartiness.

"I on one occasion," he said, "did regret the prospect of looking forward to this day; but now that the day has come, a day which could not be avoided consistently with the maintenance of principle, I feel not only satisfied, but thankful. My regrets are all flung to the winds, and I feel grateful to Almighty God that I lived to see yesterday—that I have met you here to-day—and that I have heard my brethren express their uncompromising approbation of the step you have taken. You have been compelled by a sense of duty to the highest authority in the Church,—to the Lord Jesus and His word,—you have been compelled by a sense of duty to your principles, to take the step which you have now taken—a step the bearings of which we cannot accurately know, and of the prospects that it opens up it is impossible to tell. Though I do not stand in the shoes of a prophet, I think I may assume that in these results there will be no disaster, that it will bring a thousand blessings in its train, and that, though in one sense it may have diminished the number of your hands, it will not diminish your courage or your powers."

The Synod of the English Presbyterian Church had also sent a number of deputies to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, but their commission had been so worded that it could not, like that from Ireland, be presented to the Free Church. The deputies, however, were all heard as individuals, and among these was one who had rendered an immense service to the Church during the Conflict, by the publication

of various charming tracts—like that of the *Harp on the Willows*—which were circulated by thousands, and whose name will always be remembered among us as that of a man at once of sanctified genius and of a wonderful personal attractiveness,—Dr. James Hamilton, of Regent Square. Three elders also appeared from beyond the Border to convey their salutations, whose memory is still fresh among the Presbyterians of London,—Mr. Alexander Gillespie, Mr. James Nisbet, and Mr. William Hamilton.

But perhaps no deputation was regarded with so much interest as that which came to carry the greetings of the Synod of United Original Seceders. Their presence gave a special historical significance to the events which were then occurring. A century before, the Erskines had seceded, not, as they themselves testified, from the Church of Scotland, but only from what was then the prevailing party in that Church; and now the Free Churchmen of 1843 had the gratification of hearing, from one of the ablest descendants of the Erskines, the following remarkable tribute to the position which they had been led in Providence to occupy.

"I recognise in you," said Mr. White of Haddington, "not the prevailing party from which our fathers seceded, but that free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly to which they appealed."

The testimony was felt to be a peculiarly interesting one; and the speech of Dr. Guthrie, in proposing a vote of thanks to the deputation, glistened with a genial and joyful wit from beginning to end, and while it was followed throughout with cheers and laughter, it closed—as the report tells us—amid "tremendous applause."

Two other evenings were given to what may be called *Demonstrations*. In the first, Dr. Robert Buchanan proposed, and Dr. Gordon seconded, a motion inviting the concurrence

of the elders, deacons, probationers, and students of divinity, who had been requested to be present at the meeting, in following out the separation from the Establishment.

On the occasion a memorial was presented by about two hundred probationers, expressing their approbation of the step which had been taken, and the information was added in a more incidental way that ninety-three students of divinity from the Edinburgh Hall had joined the Free Church, and that their example had been followed by majorities in Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and by four-fifths of the students in Glasgow.

No two more suitable men could have been chosen to set forth the attitude of the Church at this time than Dr. Buchanan and Dr. Gordon. Both spoke with characteristic dignity, and with an utter absence of pique or bitterness; but they made perfectly plain the position which had been taken up, and gave very frank expression to the confidence they felt that in what they had done they had been guided rightly.

Dr. Buchanan's speech was mainly a criticism of the Queen's letter,—that is, the letter of Sir James Graham,—whose inadequacy to meet the situation was pointed out with force and clearness. In ending, he referred to the great principle involved in the Conflict,—that of the right and duty of the Church to resist encroachments on its own domain; and said—

"It may appear to many to be an impalpable, a shadowy and evanescent form in which this principle comes out in the controversy which has been going on. The State is willing to allow us exclusive jurisdiction in spiritual things, but in regard to the question what things are spiritual and what things are civil, they tell us they are to be the sole judges. We know that there was a time when the independence of our ancient kingdom of Scotland was at stake, and when its

rights and liberties were endeavoured to be wrested from it by the power of England. Imagine, then, that after the Baliols, who were prevailed on to surrender their country's rights to England, had disappeared from the scene, and the heroic spirit of Bruce had come up to the rescue of his country's liberties, and infused the spirit of patriotism into the hearts of his country's sons,—imagine that when Bruce had come to Bannockburn and marshalled his host in front of the powers of mighty England, prepared to restore that liberty and those rights, or perish in the attempt to do so,—imagine that then, while the two armies stood lowering at each other ready to commence the deadly onset, England had sent her servants to Bruce with this intimation: 'We do not dispute that there is a kingdom in Scotland; we will allow that Robert Bruce is Scotland's rightful king, and that within it Bruce shall have exclusive jurisdiction; but if a question should arise as to the limits of the two kingdoms, England reserves to herself the sole right to draw the line and to point out the boundary; that question must be determined by England alone, and that spot to which the truncheon of Edward points must be the limit of the Scottish kingdom.' Sir, what answer would Bruce have returned to such an announcement?"

"Sir," said Dr. Gordon, "it is a most miserable subterfuge I have heard pled, that we might have remained in the Establishment and there retained intact our theoretical opinion,—that we might there have risen solemnly to protest as often as the Civil Courts actually interfered with ecclesiastical procedure, and that in this way our consciences might have been satisfied. That subterfuge is one that I tremble to think of a Christian allowing himself for a single moment to entertain. . . . I feel now that I am a free man. Nay, sir, I am not only a free man, but I am entitled to say to my adversaries, who have twitted me so often with dishonesty,

that I am an *honest* man. I have given what ought to satisfy you at least that I am an honest man. I have sacrificed my all except the promise of my Heavenly Father, who will bring me support for myself and my children."

In connection with the Probationers' Memorial, Dr. Candlish also delivered a strong speech, in which he indicated the character of the work to which he believed the Church to be called, and warned the Assembly against the danger of allowing the Free Church to sink into a mere "Scottish protesting and seceding sect." "We have been instrumental," he said "throughout all the land in exciting a thirst for the preaching of the gospel, and if we now shall slack our exertions and fold our hands and grow weary, unquestionably we shall incur the heavy responsibility of leaving the fields which are now white to the harvest unreaped and ungathered."

The other evening on which there was a demonstration was spent even more expressly in expositions of the principles for which the Church had been contending. These were given in connection with a motion formally declaring the separation of the Assembly from the Establishment, and protesting on the part of those assenting that "in doctrine, polity, and discipline they truly represent the Church of their fathers."

Dr. Patrick Macfarlane—"the fourth in a direct line of ministers," as he told the House—proposed this motion, and it was seconded by Dr. Brewster of Craig, a brother of the more famous Principal of St. Andrews. The motion was also supported by Dr. Beith of Stirling, and in a great speech by Dr. Cunningham. Dr. Cunningham went more fully into the grounds of the controversy than had yet been done, and used stronger language than anyone else had yet done. But he was listened to with extraordinary interest, and his exposition left upon the minds of his hearers a sharper and deeper

impression than had hitherto been produced. He described Moderatism as "the great adversary of Christ's cause and Christ's people in the land." He regarded what had occurred as involving the re-establishment of Moderate Ascendancy, but he held that its temporary restoration would certainly be followed, in God's own way, with "a more overwhelming destruction."

To two other subjects distinct attention was given in the Assembly. The one was the commemoration of the Bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly, the other the question of what was to become of the *quoad sacra* churches. A Committee had been appointed by the previous Assembly to consider what it would be best to do in connection with the commemoration, and it now submitted its report; and with regard to the *quoad sacra* churches, a very interesting conversation took place, the chief parts in which were taken by Mr. Dunlop and Sheriff Spiers. Mr. Dunlop, referring to the large sum which had been raised in recent years for church extension—amounting, he believed, to upwards of £300,000—said: "In point of equity and justice, I suppose there are not two men in the kingdom who will entertain any opinion but one as to the party to whom these churches belong. There cannot be the least doubt that they owe their existence entirely, or almost entirely, to those who are now separating from the Establishment. If, then, we meet with justice, we ought to get that property." In those circumstances he was prepared to offer an advice to the congregations occupying such churches,—not to surrender them at the mere call of any Presbytery, but to retain possession until they were ejected by a civil warrant. Sheriff Spiers concurred with Mr. Dunlop, and added: "It would not become me to hazard any legal opinion; but law is one thing, and equity is another, and I am sure there is not an individual within the walls of this Assembly

who does not agree in the statement that my learned friend made, that if this case was to be decided according to the rule of the highest equity, no Church can, in regard to the property of these churches, compete with the Protesting Free Presbyterian Church."

It is rather melancholy to read these utterances in the light of subsequent events. The Civil Courts of the day were by no means disposed to lean to the side of equity when the claims of the Free Church were under consideration. The constitution of the churches—so many of which owed their erection to the zeal and eloquence of Chalmers—was declared to be such as to make them the inalienable property of the Establishment, and, as a rule, they were taken over remorselessly. It is some consolation to believe that this act of spoliation, as it has sometimes been called, would not be countenanced now either by the Law Lords or by the Established Church.

These were the chief incidents in the proceedings, but every day something or other occurred to give a personal interest to what was taking place. On the first day, Mr. Pitcairn and Dr. Clason were unanimously appointed Joint Clerks of the Assembly; and a few days later, Mr. Dunlop was invited by acclamation to take the post of Procurator or Legal Adviser. Then the serious business of the House was hardly begun, when a Lanarkshire laird, Mr. Dickson of Hartree, who had just come in from "the other place," asked to be allowed to tell his experiences. He had lingered behind in St. Andrew's Church because he thought the step taken there had been premature. He thought the Church ought to have waited to hear the Queen's letter read. At anyrate, he had done so, and the result was utter dissatisfaction. That letter contained, he said, a vague promise with regard to the question of Non-Intrusion, but with regard to other matters it said in effect:

"If you, the Church, will allow the Civil Courts to put their feet on your necks, then perhaps we will endeavour to alleviate your sufferings." To this he had listened with deep displeasure, and now he felt he was in his true place in Canonmills. Great enthusiasm, too, was excited from time to time by the reading of letters from men who had had some difficulty in making up their minds, but who, being constrained to come to a conclusion, sent in their adhesion to the Protesting Church. Among these were peculiarly hearty and intelligent letters from the Marquess of Breadalbane, Mr. Hog of Newliston, Mr. Campbell of Tulliechewan, and Mr. Ewing of Levenside. The Marquess wrote on the 23rd of May from London: "After having given my anxious consideration to the various topics of the Queen's letter, and the spirit which pervades it, I am most reluctantly obliged to give up that hope which I had till now fondly cherished, that the Government were really in earnest in their desire to bring in a measure consistent with the rights and privileges of the Presbyterian Church, and securing to the parishes of Scotland the appointment of ministers acceptable to the people. My resolve is therefore now taken, to vindicate my own principles as a Presbyterian, and to leave the Established Church; and I beg of you to command my humble service in any way which can be most useful to the cause of the Free Presbyterian Church."

Altogether, this was a remarkable Assembly—remarkable because of the circumstances under which it met—remarkable because of the many very able men of whom it was constituted —remarkable for the practical wisdom which was displayed in the conduct of its business—and remarkable for the extraordinary enthusiasm which from first to last characterised all its proceedings.

'We have reason, too," said the Moderator in his closing address, "to bless God for a harmony which has been quite

marvellous. Let us rejoice in it as a token for good; and may He who turneth the spirits of men whithersoever He will, turn this common enthusiasm on behalf of great and high objects into an instrument for the growth of charity and cordial affection among all Christians, that they may at length rally round one and the same standard, and go forth with one heart and one hand on the mighty enterprise of spreading the gospel everywhere, and achieving both at home and abroad the further triumphs of our faith."

CHAPTER III

RECONSTRUCTING THE FRAMEWORK

STARTING under the circumstances described, the Free Church addressed itself with earnestness to the work which seemed to be assigned to it. It did not for a moment think of itself as a body of Seceders or Dissenters. The crisis of the Disruption had not destroyed the consciousness of its identity. It felt itself to be the same Church which for ten years had been battling for the rights of the people and for spiritual independence. The separation which had taken place was from nothing but the State, and not regarding "Establishment" or "Disestablishment" as anything more than accidents, it had no hesitation in keeping to its old name, that of the "Church of Scotland," qualifying the title only by the epithet of "Free." What moved it the more confidently to pursue this course was the indisputable fact that it was maintaining the principles of the Reformers and Covenanters.

Looking upon itself, then, as called upon still to discharge national functions, it undertook, as a matter of course, to carry on all the enterprises of the unbroken Church, and to supply ordinances all over the country to whoever might seek them. The restoring of the framework, however, in room of what had been taken away, was an immense undertaking, and in a time when faith was feebler it would have been faced with very serious misgivings.

Happily, the summer was before the Church, and it turned out to be a beautiful summer. It was simply impossible to provide of a sudden places of worship for all the congregations which came to be formed; and where halls or other such temporary refuges could not be found, the ministers needed to meet with their people in the open air. One congregation, for instance, assembled for eighteen months in an old graveyard; another worshipped in a wood; a third met "on a green hillside"; a fourth, in the playground of a school; a sixth, on the seashore. While the fine weather lasted no great hardship was experienced in these circumstances. The novel and unconventional character of the services gave them even a special element of interest and attractiveness. But it was different when the winter came, and congregations not a few were still without any kind of shelter. These were almost entirely to be found where sites for buildings were refused.

It seems, at this time of day, almost incredible that any proprietor should have imagined it to be possible that he could arrest the advance of any great religious movement by preventing his tenants from meeting on his land for public worship. But this was unquestionably the idea which was at this period entertained by a good many of the landholders of Scotland. It pleased them to believe that the Disruption was a hasty step which would be speedily repented of, and that if only some firmness were displayed, the people would find their way back again into the parish churches. They were, moreover, profoundly persuaded that a religious Establishment is essential to the well-being of a country, and that any drift away from it portends the approach of social and political disorder. Under the influence of these persuasions they took up an intolerant position, and doggedly assumed the character of site-refusers.

The consequences of this policy were often so cruel, that one is surprised to know that they were always borne so quietly. It is needless to recall particularly the story of those times. It is a story which illustrates in a striking way the injury that may be done by the stupidity of well-meaning men, and which makes one blush to think that such things could have happened in the nineteenth century. But we may allow ourselves to believe that some, at least, of those who were guilty of the atrocities lived to be ashamed of their conduct; and it would be almost a pity to preserve the records of it on the page of a history.

What the Church, however, had to face in this connection in the reconstruction of its framework, ought not to be altogether forgotten; and one example may be given of how one man, who had a reputation for kindliness of nature, set himself to make it impossible for the Free Church to exist on his estate.

All the land about Canonbie and Wanlockhead belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch, and this, briefly, is what happened in those places.

In the former parish a number of the people came out, and a canvas tent was erected for their benefit, which was pitched in the corner of a moss or moor. The spot, however, belonged to the Duke, and the congregation was ejected from it by means of an interdict. They then met, without any shelter, on the public roadside,—which was not regarded as a hardship as long as the summer lasted, but which was looked forward to with serious apprehension when the winter approached. A petition, therefore, was got up, signed by a thousand persons, and was sent to his Grace, humbly praying him to grant a site; but the receipt of the petition was not even acknowledged. There was nothing for it then but to remain on the roadside,—and "a sad sight it was," says the

minister who preached to the people all through that time, "to see old men and women and little children standing exposed on the open road to the wind and rain in this Christian land, listening to no political harangue, but simply to the gospel of Christ; and all because of their having been driven from a barren moor, where the wandering gipsies are made welcome to pitch their tents and dwell for weeks together."

The case of Wanlockhead was even more discreditable. The miners who inhabited the region were the Duke's workmen, and they had invariably received such kindness at his hands before, that they did not dream of the possibility of their being treated intolerantly now; but the first petition addressed to his Grace—in July 1843—was dealt with as the Canonbie one had been. The receipt of it was not even acknowledged. Six weeks later they sent another, couched in more urgent terms; and now the factor answered, but it was to refuse curtly the request which had been made. Winter came; and amid the storms of January the outgoing minister made a new appeal,—only, however, to be repulsed. The Presbytery next took the matter up, and in July 1844 addressed a most pathetic remonstrance to the Duke,—but it was in vain. Later on, his Grace was approached in person by a deputation,—with the same result. And Dr. Chalmers, who at last interfered, was equally unsuccessful,—his letter being actually left unanswered.

An experiment was evidently being tried. It was expected that here a Free Church congregation would be driven back into the Establishment by sheer stress of weather; and the conditions for the accomplishment of that end were certainly most favourable.

"Up among these wild hills," says Dr. Brown, in his *Annals of the Disruption*, "fifteen hundred feet above the sea, the wind,

even in summer, blows chill and keen, while in winter, as one of the witnesses states, it has occasionally been found impossible for a human being to stand for an hour exposed in the open air. The plan, therefore, was a simple one. Deny the people ground on which to build; let the minister get no site for a manse: and that terrible climate will do the rest."

"But," adds Dr. Brown, "if men reasoned thus, they should have known their countrymen better. . . . Mr. Hastings, the minister, had broken up his home and sent his family to Dumfries, a distance of thirty miles. For himself, he found accommodation in a workman's thatched cottage, where the widow of one of the miners gave him the use of a single room, low in the roof, ten feet square; and this was his sitting-room, bedroom, and study, all in one. . . . The conducting of Sabbath services was the great difficulty. Sometimes the congregation met on the bare hillside, sometimes in one of the valleys, changing the locality so as to escape as far as possible the fury of the blast, though no change could free them from the cold numbing wind and the frequent showers of rain and snow. . . . When winter came, with frost and snow, the cold caused extreme suffering. The minister has felt so benumbed, that, at the close of the service, he could not get off the stone on which he had been standing, till helped down. And this was not due to any unusual cold. The congregation had often to encounter such weather."

On the approach of the third winter a tent was provided, but it was soon levelled to the ground by the wind, and a new plan was followed,—that of singling out six houses, and having a service in each of them. This, however, entailed upon the minister an extraordinary amount of labour; and when the sixth winter was approaching, without any prospect of relief, a desperate effort was made to mend matters by Mr. Irving of Falkirk. He wrote to the Duke asking permission

to erect a wooden shed, and receiving no reply, he assumed that silence meant consent, and proceeded with the work accordingly. By and by it did appear that Mr. Irving was not taking too much for granted. It was suggested that a new petition should be presented to his Grace, and this being done, the wooden shed received his direct sanction. It is even said that the Duke made some sort of apology for his cruel obstinacy.

In any case, so ended a conflict in which the Free Church was seen overcoming one of the most formidable obstacles which lay in the way of the restoration of its framework.

The Duke of Buccleuch, however, was by no means the only landlord whose intolerance was a just cause of complaint. His evil example was followed by so many others that the interference of Parliament had to be sought.

In the Assembly of 1845, a Committee was appointed to attend to this one interest, and at its head was placed one of the noblest men of the Disruption period. Sheriff Spiers is forgotten by the new generation, but no one who ever saw him will forget his appearance. What Lord Cockburn says of him is worth repeating.

"No individual power," writes Cockburn, "could have reared the Free Church. It is the result of a confluence of circumstances. But the men who have had the deepest share in directing these circumstances and in moulding the results have been Chalmers, Candlish, Alexander Dunlop, *and Graham Spiers.* Neither of the clergymen could have succeeded without the two laymen. Dunlop in everything except expressive public exhibition is superior to them both, . . . yet was he even surpassed by the apostolic Spiers, whose calm wisdom and quiet resolution and high-minded purity made his opinion conclusive with his friends and dreaded by his opponents. He had no ambition to be the

flaming sword of his party, but in its darkest hour he was its pillar of light. Amidst all the keenness and imputations and extravagances of party, it never occurred to anyone to impeach the motives or the objects or the sincerity of Graham Spiers."

If anyone could have been expected to influence the landowners of Scotland, this surely was the man. In birth and social standing he was their equal (he was one of the Spiers of Elderslie)—his manners were those of a stately gentleman—and his character was above reproach. But even he failed to bring the site-refusers to reason; and in 1847 the House of Commons was moved to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. In that Committee, the complainants were not permitted to have their own way. Among others, Sir James Graham, who had not then been brought to the wholesome state of mind in which Dr. Buchanan found him in 1853, distinguished himself by his animus against the Free Church. Determined efforts were made to show that the position taken up by that Church was an untenable one, and that its opposition to the Establishment had been so virulent as to excuse, if not to justify, those who had refused to allow its congregations to worship on their lands. One of the witnesses examined on this occasion was Dr. Chalmers. It was one of the very last services which he was permitted to offer to his Church, and it was a great one. For an hour he was subjected to all manner of questions from Sir James Graham,—some of them (as his Journal testifies) being regarded by him as impertinent. But he maintained throughout "an erect demeanour and visage unabashed," and when the conclusion was reached, it was not the witness but his examiner who came in confusion out of the conflict.

Sir James, however, regained his equanimity in Parliament. The Committee, while condemning the violent language

which had been used on both sides, reported unanimously that there was a grievance, and Mr. Bouverie brought in a Bill with a view to its being redressed. The Bill was received with favour, and was allowed to pass its second reading; but before it was read a third time, Sir James Graham appeared as its opponent, and through his influence it was thrown out. This might have issued in a fresh outbreak of the evil. No thanks to Sir James Graham that it did not. But the truth was that the exposure which had taken place had sufficiently revealed the outrageous character of the proceedings complained of, and site-refusing was quietly discontinued.

Apart from the extraordinary difficulties we have been describing, the Free Church had a serious enough difficulty to face in replacing the edifices of which it had been deprived by its disestablishment. At its own doors, churches, manses, colleges, and schools had to be erected; and in India it had also to address itself to the building of new missionary institutions.

The most pressing need was that of home churches, and the zeal with which the business of providing them was prosecuted may be guessed, when it is said that by the spring of 1845 no fewer than 500 were already in occupation, and that a sum of £320,000 had been subscribed for their construction. During the years which followed, the same rapid rate of progress was continued, and over 700 were reported as finished at the Assembly of 1848.

The necessity for new schools was felt to be scarcely less urgent; and so early as October 1843, when the Assembly was meeting at Glasgow, Mr. Macdonald of Blairgowrie submitted a scheme, which in six months' time he carried through to a triumphant termination, of raising £50,000 to help in the erection of schools all over the country.

A college for the training of young men for the ministry was of course also from the first regarded as a necessity, and a house in George Street, Edinburgh, was bought, in which the work was begun. But the rearing of a suitable building for the classes was not lost sight of for a moment; and at the Assembly of 1845 it was reported that, besides a large sum which Mr. Macdonald had promised to raise, £21,000 had been subscribed for the purpose by twenty individuals,—one of the twenty undertaking for £2000 instead of £1000.

But another work needed to be done. It is highly creditable to the ministers of the Disruption age, that they showed themselves so willing to postpone the consideration of their own wants to the more urgent public claims of the Church. Many of them endured almost intolerable hardships when driven out of their manses in 1843. In many cases no suitable dwelling-houses could be found in the parishes where they laboured, and it was the commonest thing possible for men to send away their families to towns at a distance, while they themselves found accommodation of the poorest kind in the cottages of their neighbourhood. This state of matters could not be suffered long to continue, and in the Assembly of 1844 an outcry arose against it from among the laity. A Committee was then appointed, and some subscriptions came in. But the movement was then regarded as premature, and no general effort was made till 1845, when, at the suggestion, it is believed, of Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Guthrie was invited to undertake the task of raising £100,000 for manse-building alone.

No man then living was better fitted to undertake this business. Born in 1803 at Brechin, and educated there and (for a short time) at Dun, he was sent to the University of Edinburgh when he was twelve years of age, and was licensed to preach in 1825. His father had political influence

enough to secure for him very soon afterwards the presentation to an important charge, but one of the conditions on which it was offered to him was that he should ally himself to the Moderate party. That condition he refused to accept, and he remained a probationer for five years. In 1830, however, he was settled at Arbirlot, and there he remained till 1837, when he was translated to Edinburgh to become the colleague of Mr. Sym in the Old Greyfriars. Here his home missionary predilections found scope so far, inasmuch as he and his colleague held a service each every Sabbath in the Cowgate; but in coming to Edinburgh he had always contemplated devoting himself to work a district on the territorial plan, and when the new Church of St. John's was completed, it was with great satisfaction that he undertook to become its first minister. The church filled almost immediately, and here and in the new Church of Free St. John's, which was built for him after the Disruption, Dr. Guthrie maintained for many years the position of the most popular preacher in the city. Brought up an Evangelical, he fought, both at Arbirlot and Edinburgh, in the Conflict for the Church and the people, and when the crisis of 1843 arrived, he was one of the band of distinguished men who, without hesitation, withdrew from the Establishment. Alike in the pulpit and on the platform he showed that he possessed the power of moving whatever audience he addressed. Especially he had the gift of touching men so that they broke into laughter or melted into tears. And when it was known that he had undertaken to raise a fund for the erection of manses, the general feeling was that the work was virtually done. Nor were those who cherished this hope doomed to be disappointed.

Dr. Guthrie set out on the great enterprise on the 9th of July, and, six weeks later, he was able to tell the Assembly at Inverness that he had raised £35,000 of the whole amount

in Glasgow and its neighbourhood alone. Not only so. When the Assembly of 1846 came round, he had the satisfaction of reporting that the whole and more had been promised,—the entire sum subscribed (including £5000 from Lord Breadalbane) being £116,370.

The remark has often been made (and its justice will hardly be disputed), that perhaps the most encouraging event which took place in the early history of the Free Church was the accession to its ranks of all the foreign missionaries, without exception, who had been sent out before 1843 by the unbroken Church of Scotland. An emphatic testimony was then given to the evangelical character of the movement which the Disruption represented. The missionary spirit was the outcome of the same life which had appeared in the reforming efforts which had been made at home, and all the world knew that most of the means provided to carry on the work abroad had been supplied by those who were now outside the Establishment.

All this might have been remembered when questions arose as to the disposal of the mission buildings in India. "The buildings" [in Culcutta], says Dr. Brown, "were of Dr. Duff's planning. He had toiled hard, by correspondence and personal application among his friends, to raise the funds. The erection of the Institution was as really his work as if with his own hands he had built it. Sums of money given to himself for the use of his family he had at different times laid out on it. The fair thing would have been to let him remain in possession, the Committee of the Established Church receiving compensation for such claims as they might have. If, on the other hand, they felt bound to take possession, ought they not, as honourable Christian men, to have made some return to Dr. Duff and his friends for what they had done? The Committee in Edinburgh, however, had other views. Technically, they had

the law on their side, and, disregarding all claims of equity between man and man, they decided that Dr. Duff and the other missionaries must be expelled." This was accordingly done. The same policy was pursued in Bombay. And thus it came about that among the other burdens which the Church had at once to face was that of reconstructing the missionary framework in India.

How well and rapidly this was accomplished, appears from a message which Dr. Duff sent home in January 1845. Ten months before, he and all his co-workers and all his scholars had been compelled to leave the premises which owed their existence to him; but he writes: "All things have prospered with us. We have a more capacious edifice than ever. The pecuniary resources have been adequate. The attendance of pupils (1257) has been great beyond any former precedent. And the organic workings of the system have been carried on throughout all departments with new life and renovated vigour. Our Institution, as a Free Church one, instead of falling behind, has already started considerably in advance of its former self."

It ought to be remembered that all the money required to build new churches, manses, and schools was not contributed by its own adherents. An extraordinary spirit of liberality, indeed, was poured out upon them, and by far the largest proportion of what was needed was given by them; but one of the notable features of the period was the interest felt in the Disruption by Churches and individuals outside, and the sympathy shown by them took often a very practical shape.

Salutations came to the early Assemblies from England, Ireland, and Scotland—from the Continent of Europe and from America; and in response to invitations freely coming from many quarters, deputations were sent, with the result that

considerable sums reached the Church from friends interested in its prosperity.

Thus, to the marvel of all, the broken walls were built up again with wonderful rapidity; and within a very few years Scotland was covered from end to end with churches, manses, and schools belonging to the Free Church, and so far the framework was reconstructed.

CHAPTER IV

REPLACING THE ENDOWMENTS

IT was not only the churches and manses that were abandoned at the Disruption. The "livings" also were left behind, and another thing requiring immediate attention after that event was that of providing for the support of the ministry.

If the men who led in the movement had been mere enthusiastic dreamers, this matter would have been left to arrange itself. Each congregation would have been expected to sustain its own minister. But the result of that would have been that only the centres of population would have been occupied. The country districts would, after a time at least, have been forsaken, and the Free Church would have shrunk into a paltry sect, providing only for such adherents as could be brought together in considerable numbers.

To prevent an issue like that, comprehensive measures needed to be taken, and were taken. And the time and circumstances were both favourable for the making of an experiment. In 1662 almost as many ministers were driven out of the Establishment, but the people were not then left free to organise themselves as they wished. In 1733 no restraints were put upon the people, but the ministers were too few in number to require any general movement to be made on their behalf. In 1843, however, a tide of feeling swept over the whole country. Congregations animated by one spirit were being

established everywhere. The ministers who came out were many, and had their homes in all parts of the land. And as there was a necessity for some general scheme of "sustentation," so there was a clear field for its execution.

The plan adopted was a very simple one. It proceeded on two principles,—the first, that the Church is not a congeries of independent elements, but a unit; the second, that everything may be expected from "the power of littles."

From the outset no congregation was allowed to think of its own interests only, and no individual member of the Church was permitted to regard himself as having a connection with one congregation alone. A Central Fund was formed, to which all were expected to contribute, and out of this fund every minister was paid at the same rate, wherever he lived or whatever his people had given. Under this arrangement, lights were kept burning in many a Highland glen and in many an outlying Lowland parish where otherwise they would have been extinguished; and at the same time suitable outlets were furnished for the outflowing of the liberality at once of the rich and of the poor. For every Free Churchman was taught from the commencement that it was his individual duty to contribute as he was able to the support of the whole Church. His being in a wealthy congregation or in a poor one was not to affect the measure of his liberality. He was neither to withhold more than was meet because the provision for his own minister could be easily furnished, nor to lower his own givings to make them on a level with those of poorer neighbours around him. The single consideration he had to think of was: What proportion of his income did it behove him to give for the support of ordinances throughout the land?

"Compared," says Dr. Hanna, "with the system under which each separate congregation sustains its own minister,

this scheme presented many a peculiar recommendation. By drawing on the abundance of the rich a fixed supply for the necessities of the poor, it preserved a Christian ministry in many districts where otherwise it must have expired. By binding the strong and the weak together, it created a new species of unity in the Church, and breathed throughout it a fresh and healthful spirit of brotherhood. By creating orderly channels through which the overflowing liberality of the wealthy congregations was spread equally within the whole area of the Church, it established a security against the fitful and capricious distributions of individual benevolence. By inviting every member of the Church to unite not simply in supporting that clergyman whose services he personally enjoyed, but in sustaining and extending a gospel ministry throughout the land wherever it was needed, it gave a new if not a purer motive to his liberality, supplying it with a wider aim and a nobler area."

The plan adopted was that which was proposed by Chalmers in the Convocation of November 1842. His calculation was that, if all the adherents of the Church in Scotland would contribute one penny a week to the "Sustentation Fund," as he called it (thereby coining a word which has since become current everywhere), a sum of at least £100,000 a year would certainly be provided, and he ventured to promise that amount to the outgoing Evangelicals if proper steps were taken to raise it. The promise was received with a smile of kindly incredulity. Those who listened did not expect all the adherents of the Church to go with them; and even were such an improbable thing to take place as a universal separation from the State, they did not believe in any such amount being contributed in such a way. But Chalmers was not leaving anything out of sight in his estimate. He did not assume that all would

leave the Establishment. What he calculated on was that very many would give a great deal more than a penny a week, and that their larger contributions would make up for deficiencies otherwise created. And he was not mistaken. During the first ten years of the Free Church the average income of the Fund was £85,000 a year; during the second ten years it was £108,312; during the third decade it was £128,000; and since then it has been over £170,000.

To begin with, the idea which it was intended to carry out was that of an equal dividend, pure and simple. The whole amount sent in was to be redistributed among the ministers, share and share alike. This did not mean that all were to have the same stipend. Individual congregations were left to supplement the allowance from the centre by special additions of their own. But so far as the Central Fund was concerned, the arrangement was to give the same sum out of it to each minister whatever his people might contribute.

It soon became apparent, however, that this plan would not work. When men profess religion and gather themselves into churches, they do not necessarily leave behind them all their weaknesses and selfishnesses; and so many congregations showed a want of conscientiousness in connection with their contributions to the general Sustentation Fund, that Chalmers was astonished. They would take freely the whole dividend due, while they seemed to feel themselves under no obligation to do their utmost for its maintenance. It was necessary that a check of some kind should be applied, and a check was accordingly suggested. This was what is called the One and a Half Scheme, under which it was arranged that each congregation which gave £100 a year or less to the Fund should draw out of it only what it contributed and one-half more.

But a very few years revealed the unsatisfactoriness of this scheme also. It was found to expose those interested in it to a great temptation—the temptation, namely, to borrow money to send up to headquarters, in the assurance that they would get back what they transmitted with 50 per cent. in addition. In 1847, accordingly, the plan was abandoned, and there came to be a return for a time to the principle of the equal dividend.

That year (1847) saw a change of an important kind in the management of the Fund. Dr. Chalmers had been the first Convener of the Committee, but he resigned in 1845, and was succeeded by Dr. Tweedie. He too retired two years later, and gave place to Dr. Robert Buchanan of Glasgow, in whose hands the conduct of the enterprise remained for many years.

His accession to the office took place in a somewhat inauspicious time. All the nations of Europe were in a more or less troubled condition, Great Britain included, and the Church was in a state of perplexity as to how her finances would be effectively arranged. The cause, however, was one which well deserved the best attention that could be given to it, and Dr. Buchanan addressed himself to the prosecution of it in the exercise of a simple faith. He did not stop to consider what might be the wisest method of its distribution. Leaving alone what Chalmers was accustomed to speak of as the mechanics of the scheme, he placed his whole dependence on its dynamics, and, in company with Mr. Hugh Handyside, he traversed the whole country, addressing meetings and urging upon the consciences of his hearers the duty of giving more liberally for the support of the ministry. The journey was, so far, crowned with success. In 1848 the new Convener was able to report that the income of the Fund had reached the sum of £88,996, being

an increase on the preceding year of £5854. The dividend paid in consequence was £128, which was the largest yet given since the Disruption.

But the Church went on increasing. New congregations were formed and recognised, and with an ever-enlarging divisor the dividend grew always less. For six successive years after 1848 the stipends of the clergy were lower than they had been in that year; and this state of matters was taken very much to heart by a number of earnest men.

The conviction spread that there was something amiss in the constitution or management of the scheme, and from 1852 to 1855 the Church Courts rang with the noise of keener debates than had been heard since before 1843. On the one hand, Mr. Dunlop, Dr. Hanna, and an influential following, insisted on the application of self-acting checks; Dr. Begg, again, and others, strenuously objected to anything beyond moral and spiritual suasion, and laid the blame of a falling dividend on the undue multiplication of new charges; while Dr. Buchanan, the Convener of the Committee, moved cautiously between the two extremes. He had unbounded faith in the power of Christian principle, and, in his view, much of the blame of the insufficient giving which was lamented was due to the backwardness of ministers, in refraining from speaking plainly to their people; but, at the same time, he did not believe that economical laws could be broken with impunity, and his thoughts were constantly directed toward the discovery of methods whereby all the congregations might be constrained to do their duty, and yet no unreasonable arrest be placed on the extension of the Church.

As the result, various schemes came to be tried. There was, to begin with, what was called "the Rating System." It was an unfortunate title, suggesting legal rather than

evangelical ideas, but what was meant by it was this, that before each congregation a specified sum was set as that which it was taken bound to aim at. Following this was a Supplementary Fund, out of which disbursements were made under certain conditions. Next, a great effort was put forth (which was wonderfully successful) to get the whole Church to add one-fourth more to its givings. And finally came, in 1867, the SURPLUS SCHEME, which with modifications has held the field during the remainder of the half-century. The scheme provided that when the equal dividend had reached the point of £150 a year, what was over should be set aside and disbursed to such congregations as contributed to the Central Fund at the rate of 10s. and 7s. 6d. per member. The needed impulse seemed now to have been received. The Fund immediately rose. The dividend aimed at was reached, and, after a time, raised to the higher level of £160; and although considerable fluctuations have occurred in the years during which it has been in operation, this has been proved beyond question, that no other plan has on the whole worked more successfully.

The scheme, however, is evidently not absolutely perfect. Its tendency is rather to discourage the growth of congregations, for an addition of members may involve—and does often involve—a diminution of income. Under it, too, an undue development of congregationalism is made possible, with the result that some ministers have had given them unwarrantably large supplements. But means may be found for correcting these evils, and in the meantime this, in any case, may be confidently said, that it has now been practically demonstrated that a Church may be disestablished and dis endowed, and yet be able to maintain ordinances in the poorest possible congregation and in the most out-of-the-way districts in any Christian country.

Dr. Buchanan continued to be Convener of the Committee until his death at Rome in 1875. Drs. Rainy and Wilson were then appointed Joint-Conveners, the latter at the same time undertaking the duties of Secretary. When Dr. Wilson died, Dr. Rainy remained for a time in office alone, but in 1889 he was succeeded by Dr. Ross Taylor of Glasgow, the Secretary's work being performed by Dr. Andrew Melville. The names of two other Secretaries of the Fund ought never to be forgotten, those of Mr. Hugh Handyside and Mr. George Meldrum.

Besides providing a subsistence allowance for men actually engaged in ministerial work, the Church very soon recognised the necessity of doing something for those who were forced to retire through old age or infirmity. To this matter the attention of the Assembly was called in 1846, and a Committee was appointed to prepare a scheme. Not much, however, was immediately done, and year after year passed before there seemed any call for submitting special reports. But the thing grew until a sum was realised sufficient to relieve the Church from real difficulties, and to enable congregations to procure the services of younger men when otherwise they would have been obliged to bear with the inadequate labours of ministers who were compelled to continue in harness longer than was at all desirable.

In 1894 the capital realised amounted to about £145,000, yielding an income of more than £10,000 a year, and out of this fund allowances were made—varying from £50 to £80—to about a hundred men. These allowances, supplemented by contributions from the congregations concerned, have made it possible to place active colleagues and successors where their services were most needed.

The importance of this scheme is being fully appreciated, and the hope is cherished that the fund will by and by

become large enough to permit of its undertaking the entire support of its beneficiaries, thus rendering it unnecessary to draw anything out of the Sustentation Fund for their benefit.

Another object engaged the interest of the Assembly even earlier than that which has just been noticed. This was the making of some provision for the widows of deceased ministers. There had been a Widows' Fund in the Established Church, and with this those of the outed ministers who had joined it continued to be connected. But for the new men a new arrangement had to be made, and this was effected at once, and that with a thoroughness and wisdom for the display of which the Church can never be too thankful. In the first place, the scheme was constituted to include orphans as well as widows; again, the payment of the annual premium was in every case made certain, by its being deducted from the Sustentation Fund dividend; and further, by means of an Act of Parliament, the widow's pension was secured against all possible debts.

The scheme has been managed from the first with admirable skill, and the accumulated funds now amount to over £370,000. Out of this, annuities of £48 each were provided in 1894 for 299 widows; while 157 children were each receiving £27, and seventeen £40, 10s.,—the latter having lost both fathers and mothers.

One other subject immediately received attention in the Church, namely, the institution of a Theological Seminary. This was effected when, after occupying temporary premises for some years, the professor and students moved into the New College, which it had taken nearly £50,000 to erect. Some years later another college building was raised in Aberdeen, at a cost of over £2000; and yet another in Glasgow, costing more than £14,000. These institutions have now all been endowed to a greater or less extent, and are well provided

with libraries and museums. The sums invested on their behalf are reported in 1894 to have been as follows:—

New College	£136,213
Glasgow	37,795
Aberdeen	58,617
In all	£232,625

It may be interesting, in closing, to give a few figures by way of illustrating the liberality with which the loss caused by the disestablishing of the Church has been made up.

For the Sustentation Fund, out of which dividends, varying in amount, have been paid annually to all ministers, the sum raised in fifty years was £6,805,005. In 1843 the contributions for this object were (leaving out the smaller figures) £61,000; in 1850 they were £90,000; in 1860, £114,000; in 1870, £138,000; in 1880, £178,000; in 1890, £184,000. Besides the dividends paid out of the Central Fund, however, a sum of £2,352,876 has been given to ministers in the shape of supplements, so that during the half-century over £9,000,000 have been spent in providing stipends alone.

Then nearly a million and a half has been expended in the maintenance of colleges and schools which would not have been required if there had been no Disruption, while to build the various fabrics which the new situation demanded there was needed to be raised the sum of £3,482,006.

Altogether, the total amount contributed during fifty years by the Free Church has been £26,342,809; the annual income ranging from £363,871 in 1843, to £704,675 in 1893.

It does not need to be said that the finances of the Church have been managed with a skill which no business house has

ever surpassed. To begin with, they were under the oversight of Mr. James Bridges, W.S., and the Rev. John Jaffray; but in 1849 a Finance Committee was appointed, with a Treasurer. Of this Committee, Mr. Dunlop, Mr. George Meldrum, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. William Wood, and Mr. M'Candlish have, in succession, been the Conveners, while the Treasurership has been most efficiently filled, first by Mr. John Macdonald, and now by Mr. Ellison Ross.

CHAPTER V

EARLY LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

DR. RAINY, in his Life of Cunningham, quotes from "a fugitive publication" the following description of the state of feeling which animated the Free Church at the outset of its career.

After speaking of "the peculiar glow, the moral elevation and exhilaration of the years which succeeded the Disruption," the writer quoted goes on to say: "In the case of many good men who had taken risk and suffered loss for a cause which they deemed to be the cause of Christ, this was nothing else than the Spirit of Glory and of God resting on them. In the case of many who were not so spiritual, it was the contagious enthusiasm which a worthy cause guided by high-hearted leaders always propagates through the ranks of its adherents. In the case of the Church generally, it was the feeling of sympathy with a great movement, a movement believed to be authenticated from on high, felt also to be borne on below by whatever in the Church was manly, generous, and self-forgetting. People who are themselves no heroes, feel in being associated with such a movement a touch of the heroic which elevates and expands them. Mingling with all this there was much humility, prayer, gratitude, dependence on God, expectation, and hope. In the skirts of it there was no doubt a good deal of pride, vanity, and assumption. We were, I fear, intolerant toward the

other Churches in those days, as a company lost in mutual gratulation. Yet, with all our faults, the mode of feeling which prevailed among us was not unworthy. No Free Churchman who shared it will ever think so. It was an experience never to be forgotten, always to be gratefully looked back upon. It made men capable of larger thoughts and greater deeds and more willing endurance. It will abide with us till we die, as one of the things for the sake of which a man is glad to have lived. And it was attended, I say, with a singular glow of exhilaration. It was a kind of 'Mount' from which we had no wish and no intention to come down."

These sentences fairly represent how things were in 1843. Ministers, it is certain, preached then with a new fervour, and congregations listened with a new attention. And the spiritual results were most notable. Not a few came to date their conversion from that time, and the Disruption summer saw a period of more general religious awakening than had been known in Scotland for a century before. As illustrating the change which was now experienced, Dr. Candlish quoted the following in the Assembly as having been written to him by a brother minister :—

"This year I have a congregation more attentive, more devout, more serious, more earnest, than I ever have had for years before. I have had the young men more open to instruction, the careless more ready to be awakened, the worldly more ready to be rebuked, the people of God expecting larger advances in the divine life; and I have been from Sabbath to Sabbath addressing a congregation all of whom laboured under the impression that something ought to come out of this great work of God."

The same Assembly in which these words were read witnessed one of the most remarkable conferences ever held

in the Church of Scotland. In response to overtures on the subject, it was agreed to devote a whole day to a consideration of the state of religion in the country, and of the responsibilities of the Church in that relation. The services began with a sermon preached by Dr. Charles Brown,—a man distinguished at once for his spirituality and for his intellectual strength,—who took for his text Hab. ii. 1: "I will stand upon my watch tower to see what He will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved." The impression produced by this sermon was very deep—so deep that Dr. Chalmers alone ventured to make any remark when it was finished. An adjournment was felt to be necessary, and it was only when the House met again in the evening that the conference proceeded. Then a number of men spoke,—Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Candlish, Rabbi Duncan, and others,—but the conclusion was come to, that if the impression was to last, some practical steps behoved to be taken, and a Committee was appointed to submit to a subsequent diet such suggestions for work and service as might seem to them suitable in the circumstances.

This report was in due time given in, and it is not too much to say that the lines traced out in it have been followed by the Church to the present hour.

What is specially memorable, however, is the conversation to which it led, and which gave occasion to the following significant remarks of Mr. Dunlop:—

"I must say," this is how he spoke, "that from the time I entered a Church Court (ten years ago), with the exception perhaps of the occasions when we were discussing our missionary schemes, I do not remember to have heard the only real business of a Church of Christ seriously and deliberately brought under our notice until now. We have been so much engaged in controversial warfare, especially the

minds of those who have taken an active part in the controversy, and have been so fully occupied with it, that we have lost sight altogether of the great and paramount duty of a Church, and we have reconciled our consciences to this neglect, feeling that our time had been fully occupied with things about the Church, if not with things within the Church. But I have felt it delightful on this day to sit and listen to the remarks and self-abasing confessions which we have heard during these conversations."

As an outcome of the conference, Presbyteries were instructed to give earnest attention to the state of religion within their bounds, and directions were given as to how their inquiries might advantageously be prosecuted. It was a new departure in the later history of the Church, and one which indicated significantly the nature of the change which had taken place.

At first the harmony of the Church was complete. Such a thing as a division in the Assembly was hardly contemplated as a possibility, and even a difference of opinion, when it found outward expression, was viewed with disfavour, if not with a certain measure of alarm. But things could not possibly go on very long without the existence of *tendencies* in the Church being revealed, and the first sign of possible discord appeared in the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly of October 1843.

The origin of the cloud was a report on the election of office-bearers, in which Presbyteries seemed to be empowered to concede the right of voting to *women*. This was certainly a novelty in Scotland,—the Veto Act giving the franchise not even to all male members, but only to male heads of families. It was admitted by all that females must be regarded as, in the fullest sense, members of the Church, and hence perhaps logically entitled to vote. But, on the other

hand, it was argued, the proposal was objectionable because it was an innovation, and further, it was not to be thought of, because it removed women from the sphere to which they properly belonged. The first of these positions was taken up by Mr. Carment of Rosskeen, one of the most admirable of the Highland ministers. "I deprecate," said he, "anything like innovation. So soon as we begin with new plans unknown to our fathers, we are on the highway to bring on another Disruption." For the second of the positions a strenuous advocate was found in Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Gibson of Glasgow. The view he took was this: "I must state fully and emphatically, that it is not because I suppose the female members of the Church inferior either in judgment or in Christian privileges that I would oppose the practice of female voting in the election of ministers, but on entirely different and opposite grounds. It is because I wish the females of the Church to be protected from the habits of public debate and collision. In my view, there are certain great general principles deducible from the word of God which make it plain that this is not a right which females should exercise. The apostle speaks of certain things which nature itself teaches as not right or proper, and if I am not mistaken, it is in connection with this very statement that the injunction already referred to is given, that a woman is not to speak in the church." In the end the matter did not go to a vote. The question raised was sent down to Presbyteries for their consideration, and the result came to be that, without any very serious disturbance in the Church, the claims of the women were conceded, no evil consequences having been known to follow.

Another straw was thrown up in the Assembly of 1845, when an overture was introduced by Mr. Cairns of Cupar (afterwards Dr. Cairns of Melbourne) in favour of a revision

of the Paraphrases. Many of these, he held, were more fit to be sung by a moralist or deist or a philosophic heathen than by a true believer in Jesus Christ; and, for himself, he thought that worship should be restricted to the metrical versions of the Psalms. At the same time, he knew that there were men in the Church who felt the need of hymns to celebrate in express words the praises of redemption, and he admitted that they had something to say for themselves. All he now asked for was a Committee to consider the subject, and to report. His request was granted unanimously; but it is suggestive to find that all who spoke after him—with the single exception of Rabbi Duncan, who referred gratefully to the hymns of Luther, and to the benefits which had followed from their use in Germany—expressed themselves strongly in support of the contention that the Psalms alone had any right to a place in the services of the sanctuary.

The first occasion, however, on which there was a regular debate in the Church and a formal division in the Assembly was on the 27th of May 1846. What led to these events was the question which arose as to the relation which it behoved the Church to maintain toward the Evangelical Alliance.

For some time before, the attention of earnest men had been turned with great intentness to the subject of Christian Union. The rise of Ritualism in England and the progress of Popery generally had given special importance to this subject, in the view, for example, of Mr. Henderson of Park, and mainly through his influence a bond was suggested, having for its object the uniting of all evangelical Christians in opposition to prevalent errors. With this effort almost all the leading men in the Free Church showed themselves to be in full sympathy, and a number of them accordingly attended meetings of the new "Alliance" at Liverpool and Birmingham.

It so happened, however, that among those who also attended these meetings were prominent ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, and as the soreness produced by the Disruption still continued, serious objection was taken to associating with them, it being held that by doing so the principles of the Free Church were being compromised.

The matter came before the Assembly, and gave rise, as has been said, to a keen debate. Dr. Candlish, seconded by Dr. Begg, moved in vindication of those who had attended the Alliance. Dr. Gibson proposed that they should be condemned. The latter motion did not receive very much support. It was defeated by a majority of 311 to 7, but one can hardly wonder at such a result when one hears of the positions which Dr. Gibson undertook to defend.

He held that no co-operation is possible except among men who are agreed about everything. "I judge no man," he wrote in a pamphlet. "To his own Master he standeth or falleth. I will not say he is not a Christian because he does not hold all that I hold; but if you ask me to say what are the principles on which I can hold him to be a Christian and act with him, I must lay down the whole principles of the word of God. I know none I can leave out, and will not take upon me the responsibility of leaving out any one whatever. I cannot tamper with the truth of God. I may co-operate with him, but if he asks me to state the principles on which I will do so, I must say they are the whole truth of God, and as a minister of the Free Church you will find them in our Standards."

So early as 1845 the General Assembly was called upon to deal with a case of heresy. Mr. Scott of St. Mark's, Glasgow, was accused of teaching—*first*, that faith is an exclusively intellectual act; *second*, that man's natural inability to believe is wholly moral; and *third*, that there is no absolute

need of the subjective work of the Holy Spirit. The Presbytery referred the whole case to the Assembly, and there Mr. Scott answered for himself at great length and with undoubted ability. On the other hand, Dr. Willis spoke for the Standards of the Church, making, in doing so, what Dr. Cunningham described as "one of the ablest and most eloquent statements on a theological subject he had ever heard." The judgment come to thereafter was adopted unanimously. The Presbytery was instructed to proceed with the judicial investigation of the case; Mr. Scott was in the meantime suspended from all his ministerial functions; and in the end he was deposed. The bulk of his people went with him, and by them a new church was built, in which he ministered for some thirty years. His principles led him to associate with the Morisonians, and popularly he was regarded as belonging to the Evangelical Union denomination. But he never formally attached himself to that communion, and when, in 1877, he retired to Melrose, his native place, he preached freely in all the churches, his deposition being regarded as no bar to his employment.

It has been said that the Free Church, in setting about the business of reconstructing its framework, received assistance from outside. One of the places from which substantial help came was America, in which Dr. Cunningham, among others, made a tour immediately after his appointment to a chair in New College. In the course of that tour he paid a visit to the Southern States, where he was warmly received, and in which contributions to a considerable amount were offered toward the erection of new churches in Scotland. What followed proved rather startling. Slavery was then existing. The Presbyterian Church did not seem to be very active in seeking its removal, and a great cry arose among the Abolitionists that the Free Church was joining hands

with it against the interests of the negro. This cry reached Scotland, and when Dr. Cunningham arrived in Edinburgh with the results of his appeal, he was met with the vehement demand that he should "send back the money." The excitement lasted for some time, and was very intense while it continued. Agitators came from England and America to fan the flame,—among the rest, Mr. Lloyd Garrison and Mr. Frederick Douglass, the former the leading Abolitionist of New England, the latter a negro who had been a slave, but who lived to be an Ambassador from the United States to Hayti,—but all their eloquence failed to fanaticise the Scottish people; and in the Assembly of 1846 a motion to withdraw from the fellowship of a Church in which "slave *having*" (as Dr. Cunningham put it) existed, did not find a seconder. A pamphlet by Dr. Andrew Cameron, presenting the subject in a quiet and rational way, greatly helped to allay the feeling, and in 1847 it sunk entirely out of sight. While the agitation lasted, however, it was undoubtedly disturbing. The enemies of the Free Church took eager advantage of it to seek its injury, and not a little relief was experienced when it passed away.

Another subject which early agitated the Church was that of the tests in universities. These had been imposed when the country was practically one in its religious profession, and when the belief prevailed that no one could be trusted to teach anything whose views were not in harmony with the Confession of Faith. Gradually, however, these principles ceased to operate very influentially, and although the form of subscription was maintained, it was treated as a form and nothing more, and professorships came to be held by Episcopalians and others, who never dreamt of conforming to the Establishment. When the Disruption took place the matter assumed a new aspect. Some of the chairs were

found to be occupied by Free Churchmen. One Free Churchmen (Sir David Brewster) was even in the position of being Principal of a college. Now the question arose of whether men who had separated from the State could be allowed to continue in the possession of their offices. It is possible that, if the Established Church had let things alone, the law would, for a number of years at least, have remained undisturbed. But here again its counsellors were not wise in their generation. They grasped at everything, and one by one their privileges have disappeared. Attempts to oust the existing professors from their chairs signally failed; and to frustrate any attempts which might be made so to enforce the forms of subscription as to make the universities in the future mere sectarian preserves, an agitation sprang up, the aim of which was the abolition of the tests altogether. With that end in view, a Bill was introduced into Parliament by Mr. Fox Maule in the spring of 1845.

With the proposal, however, to abolish the tests there was by no means universal satisfaction. Not only was the Established Church opposed to it, there were many in the Free Church to whom it was equally distasteful; and the Assembly of 1845, while agreeing to support the Bill, did so only in the hope that by means of it the "way might be prepared for the universities being placed on a more satisfactory basis, rendering them in every respect truly national." With this concession, "the great principle was maintained, that religious truth should ever be the regulating spirit of all education, and that every practicable effort should be made to secure that all instructors of youth be men holding in sincerity and soundness the truth as it is in Jesus."

How the two ends could be attained was the question. Some suggested subscription to the Confession of Faith pure and simple. But against subjecting a candidate for the chair

of Surgery to such a test, there was presented the objection—that the Free Church itself had invited Isaac Taylor to become a Professor of Moral Philosophy in its own College, without any idea of requiring him to sign the Confession. Other plans were proposed with as little result, and year after year passed away, amid much heat and many discussions, without any satisfactory conclusion being reached. All the while, however, public opinion was steadily moving onward; and a crisis was reached when, in 1852, the Town Council of Edinburgh, in defiance of a law which they regarded as a dead letter, appointed Mr. P. C. MacDougall, who was at the time a professor in New College, the successor of Christopher North in his chair in the University. The act produced a tremendous sensation. The Established Church rose in arms against the nomination. A special meeting of Commission was called, and an attempt was made to set the heather on fire. But it was too late. The mind of the country found more real expression in a great public meeting which was called to denounce the proposed intolerance; and ere very long afterwards the agitation was ended by the abolition in Parliament of all the tests except those of the Theological Professorships.

In the debates which took place in this connection, the more liberal views were advocated specially by Dr. Cunningham, while Dr. Gibson maintained with steady persistence the conservative position which he had already taken up in the Church.

CHAPTER VI

HOW THE CHURCH GREW

FOUR hundred and seventy congregations retired from the Establishment in 1843, and two years later it was reported that to that number 163 new charges had been added. At the same time, however, it was intimated that 238 preaching stations had been planted, and the calculation was made that within a shorter or longer time the Church would expand so as to have at least eight hundred congregations.

But the provision thus made was, of course, for those throughout the country who sympathised with the evangelical movement, and who desired to have ordinances furnished to them by the Free Church. Even so far, indeed, the lengthening of the cords which had taken place was remarkable, and said a great deal for the spirit of enterprise which was abroad. If the Church, however, had been entirely content with the kind of progress which it was making, it would never have attained to the position which it has reached.

We have seen what view was taken of its mission in the first of its General Assemblies. "If," said Dr. Chalmers then,—"if we do what we might and what we ought, we will not only be able to repair the whole Disruption, but will get landed in the great and glorious work of church extension. . . . We shall not stop short, I trust, in our great and glorious

enterprise till the light of the gospel be carried to every cottage door within the limits of the Scottish territory. There is an indefinite field of Christian usefulness before us, and we must not let down our exertions till the optimism of our condition as a Church be fully realised."

This was Chalmers' ideal—the formation of a Church which would not look merely on its own things, which would not concern itself only about the wants of those who were already prepared to welcome its ministrations, but which would go out into the highways and hedges, and bring into the fold of Christ those who were satisfied to live outside of it. If, then, the Free Church was to grow in the highest sense, — to achieve "the optimism of its condition," — it behoved to become at once and above all things a Home Missionary Church.

In the Assembly of 1845 pointed reference was made to this high function of the Church. Complaints were then heard to the effect that means of grace were being abundantly provided for her professed adherents, while little or nothing was being done for the outfield population.

A like complaint was repeated in 1846, and the duty of preaching the gospel to the masses was insisted on explicitly. "We have not really been able," said Dr. Candlish, "to devote our attention to the proper work of a Home Mission. There are several districts even in the country to which the Committee desire specially to call the attention of the Church, namely, those districts in which iron works or other extensive public works have within these few years been erected. There are few of us not acquainted with districts where the greatest changes have taken place on the face of the country. After the absence of a few years we visit the country, where we find the retired valley and the silent hillside turned into a vast manufacturing town. The Com-

mittee trust that the Church will keep its eye upon these districts."

The Assembly of 1847 came round, and still, it was confessed, little or nothing had been done. "Let it be borne in mind," said Dr. Tweedie, who had been appointed Convener of the Committee, "that we have never yet entered on the proper and peculiar duty of a Home Mission. By far the greater part of our efforts have been confined to our own adherents. Those who are living without God and without hope, with none to care for their souls, have been very partially attended to. More than eighty thousand in Glasgow, more than sixty thousand in Edinburgh, and hundreds of thousands all over Scotland, have not yet been sought out. And how are we or any evangelical Church to overtake these masses, and draw down upon us the blessing of those who are ready to perish? The truth as it is in Jesus must be sent to them, and living agents must be employed to carry it."

The appeal thus made was not altogether in vain. One decisive step was at once taken. Eighteen ministers of known earnestness and ability were appointed to spend four weeks each in evangelistic work, and during the summer and autumn which followed innumerable meetings were held for the preaching of the gospel in necessitous districts. Nor was that all. Dr. Begg, who had been called to succeed Dr. Tweedie in charge of the Committee, applied his practical mind to a survey of the field and its wants, and was able to submit to the Assembly of 1848 an amount of information which proved of the greatest value.

It was not, however, till 1849 that the Church can be said to have entered in earnest and in a systematic way on the great home missionary enterprise which has done so much for its extension. Then Mr. Sym, who was now Convener, after anew lamenting that hitherto the Church had been

caring only for its own adherents, "while thousands upon thousands in the streets and lanes of our crowded cities are being allowed to live strangers to the love of Christ," referred to a movement which had begun in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, with the object of inducing each congregation to work a district on the territorial plan, and urged the adoption of the like method through the length and breadth of the Church. The proposal was adopted with the greatest heartiness and unanimity — Dr. Buchanan remarking that "it had been much to the prejudice of the cause that there had been so much speaking upon it while almost nothing had been done."

Almost nothing had been done by the Church, but it was not true that nothing or little had been done by individuals.

It is a striking circumstance that the two men who are most intimately associated with the finance of the Free Church, are also the two whose lives have been most closely identified with its home missionary efforts. Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Buchanan were in succession Conveners of the Sustentation Fund, and both of them thought, spoke, and wrote much on the subject of "Economics," but the fact is a memorable and suggestive one, that what gave them their interest in schemes for the support of the ministry was their concern for the end for which the ministry existed.

Here, indeed, we find the key to what was accomplished in this connection in these days. Neither Chalmers nor Buchanan was a mere political economist working out a social or mechanical problem. Both were inspired with the desire to achieve spiritual results, and the instrumentality was, in their eyes, nothing except in so far as it was fitted to attain the object at which they aimed.

What lay especially at the root of Chalmers' advocacy of Non-Intrusion and spiritual independence was not so much

his belief in a particular theory of the Church, as in an intense compassion for the multitudes in his country who were perishing for lack of knowledge. "His own personal observations in Glasgow," says Dr. Hanna, "had convinced him that here was the nearest, the greatest, the most growing, and the most alarming of all our national evils." And it became the constant effort of his life "to stimulate into vigorous operation that peculiar instrumentality which was alone able, as he believed, to cope with this gigantic evil." "Convinced that a Church in which unmitigated patronage prevailed, and over which a direct spiritual control was exercised by the State, could never be an effective instrument in Scotland for evangelising the masses," he fought throughout the Ten Years' Conflict not so much because the Church's Claim of Right could be vindicated, but because, he said, in the issues involved was the practical question of the religious reformation of the people.

The Disruption, accordingly, had hardly taken place, when, among his many efforts for the evangelisation of Scotland, he addressed himself to the commencing of an enterprise which he hoped to see imitated all over the country. In July 1844 he wrote to a friend in New York, that in order to show how the waste places of the land might be reclaimed, he had determined, as the concluding act of his life, to assume as a field for work a poor district inhabited by two thousand people, and to undertake the superintendence of the operations himself. The district thus referred to was the West Port of Edinburgh, the condition of which at the time was found to be deplorable. Three-fourths of the inhabitants were living outside all the Churches. Nearly the same proportion of the children were growing up wholly untaught. And while one-fourth of those living in the quarter were paupers on the poor roll, one-fourth were street beggars, thieves, or prostitutes.

It required no small measure of faith and courage to break ground in such a field, but the work was faced. The district was divided into twenty sections, to each of which a visitor was appointed. A school was opened. Then came a missionary—one peculiarly suited to the place, Mr. Tasker. And in course of time a congregation was gathered together, for which a church was built.

The enthusiasm with which Chalmers engaged in the enterprise was exceedingly striking to those who witnessed it. "Who cares about the Free Church?" he vehemently asked at a public meeting in 1845,—"who cares about the Free Church compared with the Christian good of the people of Scotland? Who cares about any Church but as an instrument of Christian good, for be assured that the moral and religious well-being of the population is of infinitely higher importance than the advancement of any sect." At a later date, he wrote that he reckoned his connection with his mission of far greater moment than the continuance of his connection with any of the public Committees of the Church. "These," he said, "I mean to give up, but our present attempt to reclaim the population of the West Port is what I never can abandon till forced to it by absolute necessity." "It is yet but a day of small things," we afterwards find him saying in his Diary, "and I in all likelihood shall be taken off ere that much greater progress is made in the advancement of the blessed gospel throughout our land. But give me the foretaste and the confident foresight of this great plan of moral triumph ere I die."

This affecting prayer of his was answered. Dr. Hanna tells that he was present in the tan-loft on the day when public worship was first begun in the district, and counted there about a dozen adults, most of them being old women. But in February 1847 a church was opened; and Dr. Chalmers,

in notifying the event to his friend Mr. Lennox, wrote: "I wish to communicate what is to me *the most joyful event of my life.* I have been intent for thirty years on the completion of a territorial experiment, and I have now to bless God for the consummation of it. . . . I presided myself on Sabbath last over the first Sacrament. There were 132 communicants, and 100 of them from the West Port!" The congregation thus formed has continued to flourish. It is still called "Chalmers' Territorial Church," and it has in connection with it a membership of over fourteen hundred.

Dr. Chalmers, in commencing this experiment, had, as we have seen, more than the interests of the West Port in view. He wished to set an example which he hoped to see followed all over the country. Nor were his expectations doomed to disappointment. In the Assembly of 1849, when Mr. Sym announced the movement which had begun in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Begg supported the proposal for a general effort, by urging that the Church "must take up the noble legacy which their lamented father Dr. Chalmers had left them," and, in point of fact, an earnest endeavour was now made to follow in his footsteps.

The extension of the Church in Edinburgh became rapid. It has sometimes been said that only an Established Church can afford to plant congregations in poor districts, and that all Churches dependent on voluntary support must seek out localities in which the better classes live. How little of truth there is in this reproach was now strikingly demonstrated. The districts chosen for aggressive work were among the poorest in the city,—Fountainbridge, the Cowgate, the Canongate, and the Pleasance,—and the success achieved in each has been such as to add to the evidence furnished by the West Port, that no effort made in an earnest spirit for Christ will anywhere prove vain. The experience in Fountainbridge has

been specially remarkable. Dr. Hood Wilson has lived to look back upon a ministry of forty years, and during that period he has seen the mission with whose planting he had so much to do develop from the humblest beginnings into five important congregations. The original church has been filled thrice, and out of it have sprung the Barclay, Viewforth, Gorgie, and Warrender Park. On the south side of the town nothing quite like this has taken place, but since the work of extension began, at least seven new congregations have been added to the number previously existing, and territorial work continues to be prosecuted with unabated vigour.

In the meantime, however, a great movement was proceeding in Glasgow.

So early as November 1843, the kirk session of the Tron Church there had rented a schoolroom in "The Wynds," in which Dr. Buchanan was in the habit of preaching every second Sabbath evening. This arrangement continued till March 1845, when Dr. Chalmers lectured on "Congregational Local Missions," and the resolution was come to to concentrate attention on a limited section of the parish and to work it on the territorial principle. The resolution was carried into effect, and that with a fair measure of success, a variety of agents being employed in the undertaking.

But it was not till the beginning of 1850 that that series of enterprises may be said to have fairly begun which has made the Wynd movement so famous in our home missionary history. The first effective step was taken when Mr. James Hogg was engaged to labour in the district. His efforts proved so successful, that, in October 1851, application was made to the Presbytery for leave to dispense the Lord's Supper to those who had been gathered in; and before the close of 1852 it became evident that a church would

have to be built to meet the requirements of a growing congregation.

But while all this was going on, the heart of Dr. Buchanan was being deeply moved. He saw that the condition of the Wynds was very much the same as that of many other parts of Glasgow, and, contrasting these with the localities inhabited by the rich, he became alarmed as he thought of the gulfs which were being dug and widened between the different classes of society. Looking at Blythswood Hill and the Bridgegate, he saw that, although they are not more than a mile apart, they are practically as far asunder as the Antipodes; and, in a public lecture delivered under the presidency of the Lord Provost, he asked his fellow-townsmen if it was not hazardous to leave unnoticed the fires which were smouldering under their feet. In January 1851, also, he brought the subject under the notice of his Presbytery, delivering at the time a speech which was afterwards published, and in which the social and religious condition of Glasgow was painted in the darkest colours.

Since Chalmers' time, he said, the population of the city had increased by 200,000; but what had been done to meet its enlarged spiritual needs? So little, was his answer, that "all the ministers and churches that have been added during the last thirty years would not have more than sufficed to overtake the religious destitution which existed in the city twenty years ago." "If," he added, "the same ratio of increase holds on, we shall have in thirty years more a population equal in numbers to that of Paris, and, most assuredly, if the Christian Churches do not speedily arouse themselves, it will be by that time like Paris in more respects than one."

Speaking then of a remedy for this state of things, he said: "I know of nothing that will do but the scheme which Knox devised at the Reformation, and which Chalmers

laboured to restore in our own day. Churches and schools upon the parochial or territorial system will, by God's blessing, give us back a humanised and christianised population in the outfields of our city, and nothing else will."

The appeals thus made proved effectual. The Presbytery at once appointed a Committee to consider how best to carry out Dr. Buchanan's suggestions. The General Assembly, which was next addressed, gave its hearty and unanimous approval of the movement. A collection for the Evangelisation of Glasgow was appointed to be made in all the churches. And in the city itself, a new Building Society was instituted, with a capital of £10,000.

With the Church now thoroughly aroused, the work went on with a bound. In its very first report, dated January 1853, the Building Society could tell of ground broken in three different places—in the Wynds, in Anderston, and in the Gorbals. Two years later, it reported that three more stations had been opened—in St. John's parish, in Finnieston, and near St. George's; and so on the tide flowed, until an immense accession was made to the number of Free churches in Glasgow.

It was in connection with the Wynds Mission, however, that by far the greatest amount of extension took place. In 1853 the services in it were secured of Mr. Dugald MacColl. He was only a divinity student at the time, but he showed such extraordinary aptitude for the work, that his attendance at the Hall for the full curriculum was dispensed with, and he was licensed before his time to preach the gospel. Very soon a further step was taken. The church which had been for some time in course of erection was completed, and, in August 1854, Mr. MacColl was ordained its first minister.

His field was a very hopeless-looking one. It contained a sunken population of 12,000, 8000 of whom were Roman

Catholics. "For the first five or six Sabbaths," says Mr. MacColl, "the church was crowded; but after that we were gradually left for years to ourselves, except that now and then, at rare intervals, some one or two would visit us to see the Wynd Church. . . . The people came in very very slowly. Each one had to be asked before he came—some had to be asked scores of times." But gradually the place began to fill. Certificates that had been held for years by people who had lapsed were remembered and brought forth. Evident conversions occurred. Workers were raised up to help the minister from the locality itself. And all sorts of plans were taken to deepen and extend the interest.

But what gave the greatest impulse to the movement was the remarkable revival whose existence became manifest to all in July 1859, but preparations for which had been going on for a long time previously.

The great American awakening of the period dates from September 1857, when the Daily Prayer Meeting was commenced in New York; but it was not till 1858 that any sensible stir took place in Europe. Toward the close of that year, however, the throb of a new life began to be felt in Ireland, and in the spring and summer of 1859 multitudes crowded into the island to see the results for themselves. Among those who were most deeply interested in those experiences was Mr. MacColl. His preaching, like that of so many other ministers at the time, became visibly affected by what he was hearing,—prayer meetings were established to seek for a blessing,—and immediately on his return from Ireland, whither he had gone to see what was taking place there, the revival began, and continued with more or less intensity for several years.

Before 1858 closed, the Wynd Church was full, and the question was raised as to whether the Forward Movement was

now to cease. Such an idea could not be entertained for a moment. It was resolved to build a new church, and to transfer to it as many of the congregation as were willing to go. This was done. In July 1860 the Bridgegate Free Church was opened, with Mr. MacColl for its minister. In the November following, Mr. Howie was ordained to the Wynd Church; and, from a report published in October 1861, we learn that then the two churches had 1100 communicants between them, while 200 more were applying for membership.

The Wynd Church was seated for 580; and when Mr. Howie was settled in it, the number of its communicants was 110. But within two years these grew to be over 500, and the need for a fresh disjunction became apparent. A site for a new church therefore was fixed upon, and in June 1864, Trinity Church was opened, with Mr. Howie for its minister; 430 of the 720 Wynd members accompanying him to form the nucleus of a fresh congregation. Here, in this new field, the blessing continued. Trinity prospered as the Wynds had done, and by and by it became necessary to go forward again. When 1100 communicants had been gathered in, the further development of the district in which they lived was not to be looked for, and yet the needs of Glasgow remained as urgent as ever. The new step taken was as notable as any that had preceded it. At the request of Mr. John Stephen, shipbuilder (who interested himself in the spiritual welfare of the district in which his works were located), and of a few others in that community, Mr. Howie in 1872 resigned the pastorate of Trinity Church, and proceeded to Govan to organise a new congregation there. St. Mary's Church, with commodious side buildings, was erected on a central site, and a congregation was established, which has now over 1100 communicants.

Meanwhile the claims of the Wynds were not being forgotten. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Wells was called as the third minister of the charge, and the former experiences were repeated. The church overflowed anew, and Dr. Wells was removed to the Barony, where he was equally successful. But he did not find his final resting-place there. A new field demanded his services in Pollokshields, and in that locality he has founded another church, which has become one of the most important in Glasgow.

The successor of Dr. Wells in the Wynds was Mr. Riddell. What happened in his case was the same as that which had occurred so often before. Once more the church grew to be too strait for the congregation, and a fresh migration became imperative. Mr. Riddell left, and established Augustine Church, and Mr. Campbell took his place.

But now the condition of the locality was undergoing a material change. A railway ran through it. Business premises began to be erected. The population decreased. And the tide was not with the mission as before. After a struggle, therefore, the buildings were sold, and the work transferred to another spot. Still things did not prosper, and Mr. Campbell was led to resign, and to accept the post of one of the Church's evangelists. It now seemed as if this wonderful movement were to collapse, and that its very name were to disappear. But at this juncture Mr. Riddell stepped into the breach. He had left Augustine, and gathered a large congregation into a new church in Paisley Road. But he expressed his willingness to begin at the base again. By his advice a better site was chosen than that which Mr. Campbell had selected, a new church was built, with a better equipment of Home Mission agencies than elsewhere in the country, and under the old name of the "Wynd Church" a fresh congregation has been formed, with a membership of over seven hundred.

It will thus be seen that out of the Wynd movement at least nine congregations directly sprang—the ministers of them all having begun work in that remarkable locality. But a very inadequate idea will be formed of the power of the impulse if we look at the direct results alone. We shall not try to indicate all the churches which owe their existence indirectly or otherwise to the work in the Wynds, but we have it on good authority that they number at least twenty-four, and this may certainly be said of them, that they are among the strongest that the city contains.

We may only add, further, in illustration of the growth of the Church, that while in 1853 there were 32 congregations in Glasgow and its suburbs, these had increased in 1893 to 84, and the history of some of them has been almost as remarkable as that of the original Wynd Church. Rose Street congregation, for example, has grown from almost nothing to have a thousand communicants, and Cowcaddens is a striking example of what may be accomplished by the energy and devotion of one man. When Mr. Ross became its minister, he found a large building burdened with debt and with hardly any worshippers to help him to face it. In the face of these discouragements he threw himself into the work, keeping the church open every night in the week, and now he has not only a congregation with over 1100 communicants, but he has established a great Home Mission organisation, which is sustaining all sorts of agencies, and which is an overflowing well of life to the whole district round.

What was being done for the evangelisation of Glasgow had a stimulating effect on the Church at large. Territorial missions were commenced in all the provincial towns, and evangelistic efforts were put forth in every direction. How much was attempted in the latter connection may be inferred from the fact that 87 in the summer of 1858, and in 1859 no fewer

than 111 ministers, were appointed by the General Assembly to hold open-air or other meetings for the preaching of the gospel.

Two things contributed to make this particular period a memorable one in the history of our Home Missions. One was the wave of revival which then swept over the English-speaking world. The other was that the chair of the Committee was occupied by a man in many respects of the Chalmers type. Dr. Roxburgh, who was minister of St. John's, Glasgow, held the office of Convener from 1857 to 1863. During his term of office the Home Mission night was looked forward to with special interest in the Assembly, because his addresses were not only fervidly eloquent, but were distinguished by statesman-like qualities which made it an education for the Church to listen to them.

In his hands the scheme was carried on with extraordinary vigour — 67 stations, 6 territorial missions, and 6 extension charges receiving grants from its funds, while over £500 were annually expended in sending out evangelistic deputations.

Later on, other departments of work were undertaken—such as students' missions and congregational missions; while in 1873, largely through the efforts of Mr. T. M. Mure of Perceton, a special mission for miners was instituted, which became the means of great benefit to the class whose good it was sought to promote. To further the ends aimed at in this last connection, a number of iron churches were constructed, which were removed from place to place as occasion suggested, and to meet the large expense incurred by the new departure a fund was raised of nearly £30,000.

Still, however, the growing demands of the Church were not adequately met. New buildings were required everywhere, partly because fresh fields had been entered, partly because, in many places, insufficient structures had been erected. In

1876, therefore, it was resolved to raise £100,000 as a Church Extension Building Fund, and this resolution was in course of time virtually carried into effect.

It was not only in 1859–60 that the Home Mission movement received an impulse from a quickening of the religious life of the country, a similar experience was undergone in 1874, when Mr. Moody paid his first visit to Scotland. From his labours no Church benefited to the same extent as the Free Church, and although the result may not have been the formation of new congregations, there were many congregations everywhere into which unusually large accessions of members were received.

So important, indeed, had the work now become, that in the Assembly of the year referred to a very definite step forward was taken, in the appointment of a Secretary to the Committee, whose whole time was to be devoted to a superintendence of its operations. The first to fill this post was Dr. Adam, who had already distinguished himself as an able speaker and business man, and who ought always to be remembered as a devoted and loyal servant of the Church, and one of its wisest and most trusted counsellors. He now retired from an influential congregation in Glasgow to give all his time and strength to this great interest. By and by he was appointed Convener as well as Secretary,—holding the former office first in conjunction with Dr. Wells, and afterwards with Mr. Thomas Binnie,—and as he was called on also to take a leading part in the direction of the Miners' Mission and in disbursing the fund for Church Extension, no man had more to do than he with the expansion of the Church between 1877, when the superintendence of the entire work came into his hands, till 1891, when he died.

Of late years the progress of the Church, owing to various causes, has not been so marked. The country districts have

been undergoing a process of depletion, other agencies have been operating in the same field, and perhaps the spirit of enterprise has somewhat diminished. But it is worth remembering that the Church which was the outcome of the great evangelical movement to whose success so much was contributed by Chalmers, was not content with supplying ordinances to those who asked for them, but struck out on the right hand and on the left, and that it grew chiefly by means of home missionary effort. The extent of its growth in Glasgow has been referred to. In Edinburgh it was almost as great. Some twenty new charges have been added there to those which were formed at the Disruption—a number of them being the result of distinctly territorial effort; and, with regard to the Church as a whole, it is something to be able to say that since 1853, when the Assembly definitely faced the duty of seeking to overtake the waste places of the land, over two hundred additional congregations have been established, and that the number of our charges in all has risen from some 500 in 1843 to about 1100 in 1893. These are to be found not in our great cities alone. There is not one provincial town in which more or less successful territorial work has not been done, and in some of the mining districts especially the expansion of the Church has been quite remarkable. In the Presbytery of Hamilton, for example, 18 new congregations have been established since 1854.

The present state of the country is not such as to justify a cessation of effort now. It would almost seem, indeed, as if the Churches were fighting a losing battle,—as if the world were getting the best of it, and encroaching upon the land that had been reclaimed,—and an imperative call is thus being addressed, may we say especially to the Free Church, to buckle on its armour anew, and, if possible, to break the record of its former achievements.

CHAPTER VII

THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGES

THERE were two things which the Free Church at the outset set itself to prove—the one, that she could maintain ordinances in all parts of the country, even the poorest; the other, that she could provide a thoroughly educated ministry for all the charges which she chose to establish. The former object was accomplished by means of the Sustentation Fund; to achieve the latter she immediately set about the institution of a College.

With this undertaking Dr. David Welsh had much to do. He was the last Moderator of the unbroken Church. Born in 1793, near Moffat, he passed from his parish school to the High School of Edinburgh and to the University there —entering the latter in his fourteenth year. While yet a student he gained the friendship of Dr. Brown, then Professor of Moral Philosophy, and became in time his biographer. Though licensed in 1816, he was not ordained till 1821—his first charge being Crossmichael. From thence he was transferred, in 1827, to St. David's, Glasgow, to which he continued to minister till October 1831, when he was appointed to the chair of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. He was one of the few who early became convinced that patronage ought to be abolished, and he spoke and voted in that sense in 1833. But his health was never very good, and he shrank from agitation outside the College. As the

conflict proceeded, however, he was drawn into it more and more, and in the consultations of the time he contributed much by his good sense and prudence to the wisdom of the conclusions that were come to. Before 1843 he was Vice-Convener of the Colonial Committee and Secretary to the Bible Board of Scotland, and the business faculty which he displayed in these connections pointed him out as one to whom there behoved to be committed one of the important schemes of the new era.

The scheme of which he was specially asked to take charge was that of Education, and in the Disruption Assembly he delivered in connection with it a remarkable speech.

Referring first to the subject of training students for the ministry, he intimated that, in his own opinion and that of his Committee, it would be necessary to institute three Colleges, each having four professors at least, but he did not propose that these should all be established immediately. In the meantime he would be content with one. But he broadly hinted that even more than three theological seminaries might be required. If the Established Church insisted on sectarianising the national Universities, the Church would have to lay its account with educating its students entirely, establishing for them *curricula* of Arts as well as of Divinity. Confining himself, however, for the moment to the one College which he asked for, he made a suggestion which, one is surprised to think, has been carried out to so limited an extent. "If," said he, "they found ministers ready to lecture on interesting subjects, they could bring them up to the University. In many cases these might be of great service in stimulating the students, and might be of advantage to the professors themselves. One might perhaps lecture on Puseyism or Popery, and another might take up the subject of Pulpit Eloquence. They might have a good lecture now and

then on Ecclesiastical Law or on other equally important topics of that sort. But they should by no means limit these appointments to ministers, but bring forward also such young probationers as might have distinguished themselves in their course of study."

It was not till November 1843, and in the Glasgow Assembly which was then held, that the first professors were appointed. They were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh, who had retired from chairs in the University of Edinburgh, and along with them Dr. Duncan and Dr. Cunningham, who were now called to the work for the first time.

Dr. Duncan was born in Aberdeen in 1796. His father was an artisan, and he himself, to begin with, was compelled to work with his hands. But, through his mother's intercession, he was set free from this bondage and allowed to give himself to study. At College he manifested an extraordinary aptitude for the acquisition of languages, and when he was proposed for the Hebrew Chair his learning was recognised as remarkable. But in his early days there seemed little likelihood of his becoming either a missionary or a professor. For a time he lost all faith in God, and sank even into the depths of blank materialism. From this, however, he was happily delivered, and, undergoing afterwards a radical spiritual change, he became a student of Divinity, was licensed to preach, and was ordained in 1831 minister of Milton Church, Glasgow. Ten years later, he was appointed a missionary to the Jews in Hungary, and he was labouring in that capacity when he was called home to teach Hebrew in the New College. He did not as such prove a great success. Dr. Moody Stuart well says of him: "He knew languages better than he could use them." But although he did not attend much to the drudgery of his class, he left upon many

the impress of his character, and earned a reputation which few others have reached of extraordinary spiritual and philosophic insight.

Dr. Cunningham was still better known. He was born in 1805 at Hamilton, but when a boy was moved to Duns, and there he received his school education. At the age of fifteen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and, after going through the usual curriculum, he was licensed in 1828. As a student he was known as an omnivorous reader, and also as a vigorous thinker and effective speaker. To begin with, he appears to have been a Moderate, but he lived in an awakening time, and he was happily brought under influences which led to a change in his views. Dr. Andrew Thomson was then thundering through the pulpit and the *Christian Instructor*, and Dr. Gordon was preaching those winning sermons to which so many owed their souls. Dr. Cunningham became an earnest Evangelical, and in this position he was confirmed by Dr. Chalmers, whose first year in Edinburgh was his last.

Soon after his license he was asked to assist Dr. Scott of Greenock, and in 1830 he was ordained his colleague and successor. In this capacity he did excellent service, not only for his own congregation but (in connection, for example, with the Row Heresy) for the Church at large; and his gifts were publicly recognised when, in 1833, he was called to Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, to which he was ministering at the date of the Disruption.

Here, in the centre of things, he became known to the whole country. Taking a leading part in all the controversies of the time,—for the Sabbath, against Popery, in favour of Church Establishments, and in support of social and ecclesiastical reforms,—his reputation steadily grew for learning, force of mind, and power of speech; and when the College

staff had to be completed, there never seems to have been raised a question as to who should fill one of the vacant posts. His first subject was Apologetics; but, on the death of Dr. Welsh, he was transferred to the chair of Church History, and in that position he remained till he died in 1861. The change which was made in his life by his appointment to a professorship did not withdraw him from the general work of the Church. His voice continued to be often heard in the General Assembly, and once and again he delivered, on subjects of public interest, great speeches which are quoted to this day. His heart, however, was always in the College, and the story of our academic institutions is intimately associated with his life.

As has already been indicated, he was not asked to enter on his duties at once, but was sent out on a mission to America. At the same time, Dr. Black, who had retired from a chair in the University of Aberdeen, was invited to take charge of the students in that city, while temporary arrangements were made elsewhere to meet the demands of men who could not, during the first session, make it convenient to come to Edinburgh. Meanwhile premises were secured to make a start with the one new College which it was proposed to institute, and the session of 1843–44 began with an attendance of 103, 76 of the number entering as first year's students of Divinity.

In the Assembly of 1844 not much was said about College matters, but in 1845 very important reports were submitted.

Dr. Welsh had died, and Dr. Cunningham was now named his successor, and to fill the vacancy caused by this arrangement Dr. James Buchanan was invited to leave his ministerial charge. Dr. Buchanan was one of the great preachers of the Disruption period. Born in 1804 at Paisley,

he studied in Glasgow, and, after his license, was settled for a time in "a quiet country parish amid the classic scenes of Roslin and Hawthornden." In 1828 he was called to North Leith, and there he speedily filled the large church to overflowing. The state of his health induced him to accept in 1840 an appointment to the High Church of Edinburgh, where he had Dr. Gordon as his colleague, and it could be truly said that "never was there a congregation more highly privileged than that which enjoyed the ministry of two such men." In 1843 both of them came out, but, although the congregation was large, it was not judged wise to continue the colleagueship. A new charge—that of Free St. Stephen's—was founded, and of this Dr. Buchanan became the first minister. The full and elaborate character of his preaching had naturally pointed him out as one who might be called to a chair. He had also published books, which had had a great circulation, on *Affliction* and on *The Holy Spirit,* and when the vacancy occurred in the New College all eyes were turned toward him. Apologetics, however, did not lie so naturally to his hand as Systematic Divinity, and to that chair he was transferred in 1847, on the death of Dr. Chalmers.

But this appointment was not the only one associated with the Assembly of 1845. The hint thrown out by Dr. Welsh in 1843 had been so far acted on, and steps had been taken toward establishing a University. In the previous August Commission, Mr. P. C. MacDougall had been named Professor of Moral Philosophy, and now it was intimated that, in addition to the class opened by him, arrangements had been made for tutorial instruction in classics, conducted by the Rev. John Miller; and in mathematics, conducted by Mr. Wallace of Abbey St. Bathans. Dr. Black, also, who had removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, was authorised

to lecture to such students as chose to attend him, on the Exegesis of the New Testament.

Mr. Earle Monteith was able to add some gratifying information in regard to the erection of a permanent building. A site had been purchased at the head of the Mound in Edinburgh—a sum of £22,000 had been subscribed for the work by twenty-one individuals—two or three thousand pounds more had been raised by Dr. Robert Macdonald—a plan had been fixed upon—and the prospect was held out of the speedy erection of a College worthy of the Church and of its history.

At the same time Mr. Hog of Newliston intimated the formation of a Bursary Scheme, which by and by attained to quite adequate dimensions.

It was now, also, that the shadow became visible of a controversy which exercised a very disturbing influence on the Church while it lasted. It arose out of the question of what behoved to be done in the country for the education of students for the ministry. The intolerance of the Established Church in insisting on the enforcement of the University tests was reconciling all to the inclusion of the Arts in the curriculum of the New College, but all were not of one mind as to whether there should be one theological seminary or more. Dr. Welsh, in the Disruption Assembly, had spoken of three, but it was in an off-hand way. Now, however, when Dr. Patrick Macfarlane followed up the suggestion by seriously proposing the institution of a College at Aberdeen, Dr. Cunningham as seriously objected to the entertainment of any such project. He was ready to assent to such arrangements as might be thought desirable for the oversight of students in the University seats, and he did not oppose the appointment of Dr. Maclagan to fill Dr. Black's place in Aberdeen, or of Dr. Hetherington to act as a *quasi*

professor in St. Andrews; but he emphatically indicated that he would never agree to the establishing in any part of the country of institutions to rival the New College, or to train students for the ministry independently of it. For the moment the cloud passed on, and the Church proceeded in the meantime merely to extend its scheme of Education.

An extraordinary Assembly was held at Inverness in August 1845, and then Dr. John Fleming was appointed Professor of Natural Science in the New College. In 1846 the Assembly in Edinburgh took a further step. It instituted the chair of Logic, and placed in it the Rev. A. C. Fraser, who was at the time minister of the Free Church in Cramond.

On this latter occasion the College Report was given by Dr. Chalmers. It was, we believe, his very last Assembly appearance, and his report, which was an elaborate one, cannot now be read without a feeling of pathetic interest. He was then much moved by the speculative currents which were running with unusual violence through the country, and in naming Mr. Fraser for the new professorship he gave expression to the high hopes he entertained of his future usefulness.

"We confess," he said, "that in our eyes one of his prime recommendations is that, in conjunction with his sound theology and his power to estimate aright the metaphysics of Germany, he must have the inclination as well as the power to dissipate the glare which a strange nomenclature is fitted to shed over the most unsubstantial if they only bear the imposing aspect of lofty and adventurous speculations; for quackery, let it be observed, not always confined to the vulgar and uneducated classes, occasionally breaks forth in the higher regions of the literary commonwealth, and never with a more dangerous fascination than when passing from one country to another; the distance between

them lends enchantment to the view; and so the invaded, whose very ignorance is the mother of their devotion, fall an easy prey to the high-sounding pretensions of the invaders. . . . We have thought it necessary to say this much for the satisfaction of the Assembly of Christian divines whom we now address. It was doubtless our conviction of the transcendent abilities of Mr. Fraser that gave the first impulses to our recommendation of him; yet this recommendation would not have been given were it not for our confidence that such abilities, in conjunction with his principles, only fit him the more to detect and expose all the visions and vagaries of transcendentalism."

The necessity, it may now be said parenthetically, for maintaining these extraordinary chairs proved to be temporary. So much pressure was put upon Parliament, that the University tests were abolished, and Professor MacDougall and Professor Fraser were transferred to the chairs of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the University—thus becoming the successors, the one of Christopher North (Professor Wilson), the other of Sir William Hamilton.

On the 31st of May 1847, while the Assembly was in session, Dr. Chalmers himself was suddenly called to enter into his rest. It was a startling event, and one which produced in the Church a momentary feeling of something like consternation. The Assembly, after paying a tribute to the great man thus removed, adjourned over his funeral, and then returned to business. Among other things requiring immediate attention was the filling up of the vacancies caused by the death; and to one man the Church seems, in its bereavement, to have turned instinctively. The offices of Principal and Professor of Divinity in the New College were unanimously offered to Dr. Robert Gordon.

Dr. Gordon was a native of Glencairn, in Dumfriesshire.

After taking license, he became mathematical master in the Perth Academy. There he was brought under the notice of Lord Gray, who presented him, in 1816, to the parish of Kinfauns. From thence he was, in 1820, transferred to Edinburgh, where first in Hope Park Chapel, then in the New North, and afterwards in the High Church, he acquired a reputation of the most enviable description. He was an able and luminous preacher, but what availed still more to gain for him the respect of all was the weight of his personal character. In 1841 he was Moderator of the General Assembly, and it is generally understood that it was largely through his presence, along with the Presbytery of Dunkeld, at the bar of the Court of Session, that that body was simply rebuked instead of being sent to prison for the crime of ordaining Mr. Kessen to the pastoral charge of Lethendy. The compliment now paid was the highest that could possibly be offered to him. But he himself received it with something like astonishment. He did not believe that he was fit for the post proposed; and with hardly any hesitation he wrote respectfully declining the appointment. Upon this the Assembly resolved in the meantime to proceed no further; but the Commission in August was empowered to make such arrangements as might then seem to be wise.

When the Commission met, it was ready with suggestions which were adopted at once. Dr. Cunningham was raised to the Presidency of the College, and Dr. Candlish was appointed the junior Professor of Theology.

The fitness of Dr. Candlish for this sphere was universally acknowledged. It was well understood that he was no mere ecclesiastic. In 1840 the proposal was made to establish a chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Candlish was named as most fitted to be its first occupant. But by that time he had been mingling in the

fray at Strathbogie, breaking interdicts and doing other like irregular things; and this having been brought under the notice of the Government, they resiled from the purpose which had been formed, and the appointment went elsewhere.

But although this incident serves to show that the nomination of Dr. Candlish to a professorship was not a mere tribute to his skill as an ecclesiastic, an event shortly occurred which seemed to show that this was not the sphere which Providence intended him to fill. The congregation of St. George's called as his successor Mr. Stewart of Cromarty, but before the translation could be effected, Mr. Stewart died, and Dr. Candlish became so sensible of the doubtfulness of the step he was taking, that in the Assembly of 1848 he resigned the chair, and, to the great joy of his people, returned to the exercise of the pastorate among them.

The filling up of the vacancy which had again arisen caused some heart-burning in the Church. A strong desire was felt for the return of Dr. Duff, and if he had been willing to come home, his appointment would have been carried with acclamation. But that hope having set, the College Committee recommended to the August Commission the name of Mr. Bannerman of Ormiston. The Commission was authorised to proceed to an election; but another name was then brought forward, that of Professor Maclagan of Aberdeen, and a division being thus inevitable, it was agreed to postpone the settlement of the business till the Assembly. In May 1849, accordingly, the matter was raised afresh, and the appointment of Mr. Bannerman was carried over that of Dr. Maclagan by a majority of 108 to 81.

One thing which moved some to refrain from voting for Professor Maclagan was the fear lest his removal from Aberdeen might affect injuriously the cause they had at heart —that of the establishment of a fully-equipped theological

seminary in that city. The question of College Extension had taken a distinct step forward when in 1845 a professor had been appointed to Aberdeen, with a Hebrew tutor. But to the policy thus exemplified certain of the most prominent men in the Church had always manifested a decided aversion, and in 1848 there fairly broke out that bitter controversy of which, as has been said, the shadow appeared three years earlier.

For the first time Dr. Candlish and Dr. Cunningham came then to be openly opposed to one another in debate, and as, unfortunately, the latter took the matter so much to heart as to make the difference a personal one, a breach took place in their friendship which was not healed for some years.

The point in dispute seems one that might have been discussed without keen feeling. Much could be said on both sides. On the one hand, Dr. Cunningham contended that to provide a higher education than had been furnished hitherto, a peculiarly well-equipped College needed to be established; that one such institution was all that the Free Church could be expected to be able to maintain; and further, that so far as an adequate supply of students was concerned, no more than one College was required. These views were supported with great earnestness by men like Mr. Dunlop and Sheriff Monteith. On the other hand, it was argued that if there was but a single Hall in Edinburgh, it would draw candidates from only a limited area, and that in course of time the supply would be incomplete. It was also held to be a groundless assumption that the maintenance of three Colleges would be beyond the power of the Church.

Through the year the agitation went on, and became, in fact, so bitter as to recall to the recollection of some the exciting times before the Disruption. An attempt was made at reconciliation in the Assembly of 1850, when a

motion was proposed by Dr. Candlish, and seconded by Dr. Cunningham, expressing on the part of the Church its willingness to receive endowments for Glasgow and Aberdeen, but discountenancing in the meantime such attempts as were being made in these towns to promote the training of students independently of Edinburgh. This motion was opposed by Dr. Begg, who contended for the immediate recognition of Aberdeen College, and who suggested the instant removal thither of one of the professors at the centre. Dr. Candlish's motion was carried by a large majority, but Dr. Begg's supporters were so many and so influential that a conclusive settlement was seen to be as far off as ever, and accordingly the question was raised again in the Assembly of 1851. Then a new debate took place, which was not followed by a division, simply because, on the suggestion of Dr. Robert Buchanan, the matter was referred to a Committee, which found a temporary *modus vivendi*. As Professor Miller reminded the House, however, it was true of the Aberdeen men what Napoleon said of Blucher: they never knew when they were beaten. They erected College buildings, and offered them to the Church with an endowment of £2000, and the gift was accepted for what it was worth. It was not said that this was done with the view of advancing their cause; but as a matter of fact it did forward their purposes, and the end of the controversy began to be more and more clearly seen.

We may say that the crash came in 1853. It was precipitated by Dr. Cunningham himself. Previously to the Assembly of that year, Professor Maclagan died,—a great misfortune, it may be said, for the Church, because the Lectures published after his death show him to have been one of the clearest thinkers and most effective teachers that Scotland has ever produced,—and the Principal of the New College saw in the providence the opportunity he had been seeking

for, to secure for the institution over which he presided the position to which he believed it to be entitled. In a powerful speech, in the course of which he assailed without mercy all who differed from him, he proposed that the whole question of the expediency of a Hall in Aberdeen be remitted for consideration to the Presbyteries of the Church—giving it at the same time as his own very decided conviction that such a thing behoved to be unhesitatingly condemned. The mover of the opposite motion was Dr. Candlish. That motion was distinctly for progress, and this without any delay. He proposed the instant filling up of Dr. Maclagan's place, and, more than that, the appointment of an assistant to him. The debate was an extraordinarily keen one, and it lasted through one whole day to one or two o'clock of the succeeding morning; and, on the vote being taken, it was found that Dr. Candlish had the support of 222 members, and Dr. Cunningham of 147. Mr. Fairbairn of Salton was then appointed unanimously to the vacant chair in Aberdeen, and the Commission in August was authorised to name someone as his assistant.

Naturally, so decided a victory put fresh heart into the men of the North, and when the Assembly of 1854 came round, they appeared with a new proposal. An additional sum of £4000 had been raised, and they now asked that with the amount of £6000 that was in hand a second chair should be endowed, and a second professor appointed to fill it. To this Dr. Cunningham objected, unless into the form of acceptance a clause was introduced to the effect that the arrangement did not commit the Church to having an independent College in Aberdeen. The insertion of such a clause, however, was felt to be ungracious, and although Dr. Cunningham's appeal was supported in a strong speech by the Earl of Dalhousie, the House decided against him by a large majority. At

a subsequent diet, therefore, Mr. Smeaton of Auchterarder was elected to the newly-instituted chair, and the Aberdeen students were required to spend only one year, instead of two, in Edinburgh.

The decision thus come to did not lessen Dr. Cunningham's dislike to the cause of College Extension. His opposition, indeed, to it became more determined, if possible, than before, and as he was always perfectly outspoken, the Church was not left to pursue the mistaken policy (as he considered it) with which it had become enamoured without due warning and protest. He insisted that in every well-organised theological seminary it was absolutely necessary to have at least five professors, and he asked how the Free Church was to be able to maintain more than one so equipped.

Besides, he argued, "the result [of the establishment of a plurality of Colleges] would be that they could not be so carefully and jealously watched, and the concentrated attention of the Church would be withdrawn from them in a great measure, so that there would be more danger of heresy in the one case than in the other. Heresy was mainly introduced from the Divinity Hall of Glasgow by Professor Simson in the early part of last century. I do not say that Glasgow is a more dangerous place than any other, but this proves that the more Halls you have you increase the danger."

His remonstrances, however, were all in vain. Nothing he could say had any effect on the mind of the Church at large. In 1855 an overwhelming majority of the Presbyteries declared themselves in favour of an independent Hall at Aberdeen, and Mr. Sachs, who had been acting as Hebrew tutor, was raised to the position of a full professor. This was done in the face of the earnest opposition of Mr. Dunlop. He pointed out that, while every other public body in the empire—the Civil Service, the Army, and the Indian Service

—was striving to raise the standard of education, the Free Church was pursuing a course the necessary tendency of which was to lower its standard of qualifications for the ministry. In proof of the charge which he thus made, he referred to the resolution which had been adopted, to have at least five professors in New College, while only three were available for Aberdeen. Dr. Candlish, however, replied to this by saying, that with so many fewer students in the North, the training given might be equally effective with a smaller staff. In any case, it was now plain that the Church had finally made up its mind; and Dr. Cunningham retired from the contest in despair.

But the limit of College Extension was not yet complete. In the same Assembly which had seen the triumph of Aberdeen, a deputation appeared from Glasgow making the offer of a munificent endowment for a College in that city. Mr. Ewing of Levenside had already bequeathed £5000 for that end; but now Dr. William Clark of Wester Moffat came forward with the proposal to add, under certain conditions, £40,000 to that sum. Such a gift could not very well be rejected. Sheriff Monteith delivered a long and deprecatory speech, in which he recapitulated the grounds on which he and his friends had hitherto opposed the multiplication of Colleges, and warmly vindicated Dr. Cunningham for having fought as he had done for the central institution. But he confessed that the tide which he had seen rising from year to year had now overwhelmed him, and he gave way to the inevitable. The offered endowments, therefore, were accepted unanimously, and arrangements were made to carry the purposes of them into effect.

Next year, in the Assembly of 1856, three chairs were filled up in the Glasgow Hall: one by Professor Fairbairn, who was translated from Aberdeen; a second by the Rev.

James Gibson, who had for years been taking a prominent part in the Church Court debates; and the third by Dr. M'Cosh, who was then a professor in Belfast, but who became subsequently President of Princeton.

The appointment of Dr. M'Cosh came about in rather a singular way. Dr. Fairbairn's translation was objected to by no one, but it seemed to be understood that only two professors were to be elected at this time, and Dr. Hanna, moved by the desire to secure Dr. M'Cosh for one of the posts, proposed that the chair to be filled up should be that of Apologetics instead of that of Church History. He was defeated in the vote, and Mr. Gibson secured the place; but so general a wish was shown to have Dr. M'Cosh also, that the Assembly forthwith departed from its original intention and elected him to a third professorship by acclamation.

By the August Commission, Mr. Lumsden, who was then minister of Barry, was appointed to the chair in Aberdeen rendered vacant by the removal of Dr. Fairbairn, and in the Assembly which followed (that of 1857), the staff of the College in Glasgow was completed. Dr. M'Cosh had declined the appointment which had been tendered to him, and Dr. Hetherington was elected Professor of Apologetics in his room; while Dr. George Douglas, then of Bridge of Weir, was chosen to fill the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis.

Hasty as this narrative has necessarily been, it would be unpardonable to conclude it without particular reference to one of the later professors who have been referred to, namely, Dr. Fairbairn. He was born in 1805 at Greenlaw, in Berwickshire, and was licensed to preach in 1826 by the Presbytery of Dunse. A year later he went to Orkney as a tutor, and in 1830 he was presented to the parish of North Ronaldshay. Here his ministry was most successful, but the claims upon his time were not such as to prevent his

giving himself to study. He became an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar, and attained besides such a knowledge of German as to be able to translate two books in that language for the Biblical Cabinet Series of the Messrs. Clark.

After six years' work in the islands, he was translated to Glasgow, where he laboured for some time as minister of Bridgeton, and finally he was transferred to Salton, of which parish he had the charge when the Disruption took place.

It was not till 1845 that the book appeared which made his reputation. The book was on *The Typology of Scripture*, and its success was immediate. Five editions were called for within a comparatively short time; and when it was resolved to appoint an assistant to Dr. Maclagan at Aberdeen, Dr. Fairbairn was at once fixed upon as the best fitted for the post. And the Church showed that the selection was regarded by it as wise. When Dr. Maclagan died, Dr. Fairbairn was appointed his successor. When the College in Glasgow was instituted in 1856, he was by acclamation elected to occupy one of the chairs; and in the year following he was elevated to the position of Principal.

His literary activity continued to be very great. He published books on Ezekiel, on Prophecy, and on the Pastoral Epistles; he translated Hengstenberg on John; he edited for the Messrs. Blackie the *Imperial Bible Dictionary*; and after his death another work of his was issued on *Pastoral Theology*.

Principal Fairbairn was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1864; he was chosen as one of the Old Testament Revisers; and with such mingled wisdom and dignity and kindliness did he discharge the duties of his office in Glasgow, that while he earned the respect and confidence of the whole Church, he so won upon the affections of his students that they asked to be

allowed to place a portrait of him—where it now hangs—in the College library.

The history of the College has thus been traced with some minuteness, because a certain amount of interest attaches to the development of that system of theological education which has done so much for the Free Church, but it is not necessary to follow the story particularly further.

Two things, however, may be referred to for a moment in conclusion. One is, that the controversy, the course of which has been described, led to an event which recalled the Moderatorship incident in the life of Chalmers. This was a breach in the friendship of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish. These two men had fought together through the Ten Years' Conflict, and they had laboured together to reconstruct the fabric of the Church after the Disruption; but now, over this business of College Extension, they differed so totally, that for some years—from 1855 to 1858—they became entirely estranged. Happily, the cloud cleared away in the latter year. Dr. Cunningham was then nominated Moderator of the Assembly; a very tangible expression of the Church's confidence in him was given in the shape of a present of £7000; the morbid feeling which had disturbed his mind disappeared, and the two leaders were seen standing shoulder to shoulder again, working harmoniously for the same ends. The reconciliation took place in the presence of several friends, among whom was Dr. Beith, and he has left on record a touching description of it.

"For us," he says, "who looked on with very peculiar emotion, it was a moment of great interest, not on private or partial grounds, but as affecting the interests of the Church and the country at large. That two such men, who were indeed 'pillars' among us, should have been under even a temporary alienation, was felt by all lovers of the truth to be

a great calamity. It was all past now. These two good and great men were never afterwards for a day alienated the one from the other. Cunningham's course thereafter was short. Occasion of most lively joy it was, that reconciliation had taken place ere death came to remove either of them, and that, during the remaining years of the noble-minded Principal of the New College, they lived together in harmony of sentiment and action in advocating the living principles and advancing the great interests of Immanuel's kingdom."

The other point of interest connected with this controversy is the question of the light which has been thrown upon it by the experience of the Church. The extraordinary earnestness with which the subject of College Extension was discussed showed very emphatically how much importance was attached to the business of providing a thoroughly educated ministry. It was his concern for this which led Dr. Cunningham to make the stand he did for one College. It was the same motive which constrained so many to contend for Colleges in Aberdeen and Glasgow. But now, what shall we say?

It seems clear that the Principal underestimated at once the needs and the resources of his Church. If there had continued to be only one theological seminary in Edinburgh, the supply of students would certainly have become inadequate; and—what he deemed to be impossible—there has been provided in each of the new institutions an amount of machinery equal to the highest of what he held to be essential for the central institution alone. The Edinburgh College has six professors; Glasgow has five; Aberdeen has four, with a lecturer; attached to the three is an extra professor, who divides his services among them all; and the average yearly attendance of students is 250.

Besides, a result has followed from the multiplication of Colleges which was, no doubt, in the minds of many who

contended for that end. That "learned leisure" which has done so much for the Church of England has never been enjoyed to any great extent in the Presbyterian Churches, and hence their contributions to the literature of their country has not been so great as might have been expected. But it is no presumption to say that the Free Church has at this moment an unusually high reputation for scholarship, and that reputation is certainly in some part due to the opportunities offered by the considerable number of its professors' chairs.

The following list will be read with interest. It gives the names of the men who have occupied, or are still occupying, positions in the different Colleges, with the dates of their appointment:—

I. *New College, Edinburgh.*

1843. Dr. Chalmers,
Dr. Welsh,
Dr. Cunningham,
Dr. Duncan.
1845. Dr. James Buchanan,
Dr. John Fleming.
1847. Dr. Candlish.
1849. Dr. Bannerman.
1857. Dr. Smeaton.
1861. Dr. Rainy.
1863. Dr. A. B. Davidson.
1864. Dr. Duns.
1867. Dr. Duff.
1868. Dr. Macgregor,
Dr. Garden Blaikie.
1880. Dr. Thomas Smith.
1881. Dr. Laidlaw.
1889. Dr. Marcus Dods.

II. *Aberdeen College.*

1846. Dr. Maclagan.
1853. Dr. Fairbairn.
1854. Dr. Smeaton.
1855. Mr. Sachs.
1854. Dr. Lumsden.
1857. Dr. David Brown.
1870. Dr. Robertson Smith.
1875. Dr. William Binnie.
1876. Dr. Salmond.
1882. Dr. George Cameron.
1887. Dr. Iverach,
Dr. James Robertson.

III. *Glasgow College.*

1856. Dr. Fairbairn,
Dr. Gibson.
1857. Dr. Hetherington,
Dr. Douglas.
1846. Dr. Islay Burns.
1872. Dr. T. M. Lindsay,
Dr. James Candlish.
1875. Dr. A. B. Bruce.
1883. Mr. Henry Drummond.

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

IN the elaborate Report on Education submitted by Dr. Welsh to the Assembly of 1843, the need for opening schools in connection with the Free Church was made abundantly plain. "Schools," he said, "must be opened to afford a suitable sphere of operation for parochial, and still more for private, teachers who are threatened with deprivation of their present offices on account of their opinions on the Church Question."

All the parish schoolmasters and others holding positions similar to theirs were at once dismissed when they declared themselves to be Free Churchmen, and of course their claims to public recognition and support were acknowledged without hesitation. But there were others who were in no better case. A system of petty tyranny was put in force all over the country, and private teachers were driven from their posts by the withdrawal of local support in different ways. They, too, had to be cared for, and thus, at the very outset, a scheme of very considerable magnitude would have had to be undertaken under any circumstances.

But in these days higher views than prevail now were held as to the functions of a Church in relation to education. Dr. Welsh went on to say that no Church, aspiring to the character of National, could be fulfilling its mission if it was not "providing for the religious training of the young from

the lowest elementary school to the first institutions of science and learning."

To establish such a scheme in connection with his own communion, there would be required, he said, a sum of £200,000, and, to secure it, he intimated that, among other means, Dr. Chalmers was willing to give lectures on Humanity and General Education in some of the principal towns of Scotland.

Dr. Welsh's views of the situation were heartily approved and accepted by the Assembly, and the Education Scheme was formally launched on the 25th of May 1843.

Six months later—at the Glasgow Assembly—conclusive proof was given that the enterprise was to be one of considerable dimensions. It was intimated that no fewer than 360 teachers had joined the Free Church.

For those who required it, some provision in the way of salary had been made, but little had been done to provide accommodation for work in the shape of buildings, and to supply what was needful in that connection was recognised as a very formidable undertaking indeed. At this point, however, a happy interposition took place. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Macdonald of Blairgowrie had been revolving the matter in his mind, and had come to the conclusion to step into the breach. He offered himself to the Assembly as an advocate of the scheme, and undertook, if he was set free for some months from the burden of his charge, to raise for school buildings the sum of £50,000. This offer was gladly accepted; and when the next Assembly met—in May 1844—Dr. Macdonald was able to report that he had been more than successful, for he had received subscriptions to the amount of £52,000. At the same time it was announced that the Education Scheme was now in full operation, all the outed teachers having been provided for, and as many as 120

schools opened. The chief difficulty encountered had been to secure places in which to teach. Some permanent school-rooms had already been made over to the Church, and Lords Breadalbane and Zetland are particularly named as having been among her benefactors; but temporary expedients had been largely had recourse to, such as "the new church," a farmer's barn or a peasant's cottage, and the pressure for buildings became more and more urgent. How greatly the enterprise was needed was made evident by the rapid growth of the undertaking—the number of schools reported in 1845 being more than double those of the previous year.

But with the enlargement of the scheme came a demand for increased support being given to it. Dr. Macdonald was able, in 1845, to say that his fund had risen to £60,000, but no part of that money went toward the payment of the teachers, and what was required imperatively was a larger annual income.

This necessity was looked in the face, and the enthusiasm of the Assembly was heartily called forth by a speech of Dr. Candlish.

"If this scheme grows," he said, "as it should grow, and if the salaries of our teachers are raised as they ought to be raised, and must be raised, and *shall be raised*" (great applause), —"if this scheme prospers in its increase of numbers, if the number of our schools goes on increasing, and if the salaries are to be made in some degree adequate to the highly responsible character of the office, then, sir, we shall require not less than £20,000 or £25,000 yearly to meet the demands made upon us in this department of our labours. The more we look around us and notice the current of events, the more must we be impressed with this conviction, that if not for the sake of the Free Church itself, at least for the sake of religion and Christianity, it becomes the bounden duty of the

Church to establish, not on a sectarian basis, but on broad Christian principles, a system of adequate instruction for the whole youth of Scotland who will accept it at our hands."

A grand theory was thus indicated, and as events developed it seemed as if the expectation on which it was based might come in a great measure to be realised. The number of schools in connection with the Church was constantly and rapidly increasing, and in the Assembly which was held at Inverness in August 1845, Dr. Cunningham, who was then Convener of the Committee, was moved to make a remarkable proposal. It was that the teachers should be placed on the same footing as the ministers, and should receive their salaries out of a common Sustentation Fund. To this plan Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Buchanan both gave in their adhesion, and the former wrote about it in the following way :—

"I observe—and I rejoice at it—the opinion making progress, that the salaries of schoolmasters, as well as the stipends of ministers, should come out of the Sustentation Fund. Such is my opinion of the indefinite capabilities of our associational mechanics, that the additional impulse which would then be given to it would more than compensate for the additional outlay."

So serious a change in the constitution of the Church could not be made off-hand by the Assembly. The proposal was sent down for the consideration of Presbyteries; and next year, Dr. Buchanan, in a long and important speech, which marks the beginning of a new era in the Church's educational history, reported, as the result of the appeal, that two alternative plans for raising funds had been suggested and approved—one, to have a collection once a month in every congregation; the other, to have in the Sustentation Fund collecting-books a column for the support of the schools.

In the meantime the enterprise had continued to expand. It was reported in 1846 that five hundred teachers were receiving more or less of support; and Mr. Gibson, the Government Inspector of Schools, was induced to resign his position as such, and to accept a similar post in connection with the Free Church.

The year 1847 came, and the magnitude and importance of the scheme were set forth with fresh emphasis and fulness by Dr. Candlish, who had succeeded Dr. Cunningham in the chair of the Committee. The number of schools, he reported, which were receiving direct support was now 513; but, he added, there were many others to which as yet no grant had been made, and if these were taken account of, the Church might be accredited with having 650 schools. Attending the 595 schools from which returns had been received, there were upwards of 44,000 scholars —as many, it was calculated, as were to be found in all the parochial schools of the country. The income for the year had been close upon £10,000—a long way off from the figure formerly named, but still enough to manifest the public interest taken in the work. Dr. Candlish further dwelt in his speech on the necessity which existed of establishing in large country parishes and in the waste places of great cities as many missionary schools as possible, and in doing this he again gave expression to his conception of what the relation of the Church to education should be. "We are in the land," he said, "a missionary Church. We have a great Home Mission to see to in Scotland. We have doors open over all the land, and we are called upon to go forth and possess the territory; and as this is the character of our Church ecclesiastically viewed, so we desire that it should be the character of our Church viewed scholastically and educationally."

But in this same year the Church was called upon to con-

sider a subject of more than internal interest. The Government of the day had had its attention called to the educational wants of the country, and had issued, somewhat suddenly, a plan for meeting these. It offered to give grants in aid to all schools with whose efficiency it was satisfied, leaving the active conduct of them in the hands of the parties by whom they had been instituted. As, however, support was not meant to be given to mere secular education, it was made a condition that in every case evidence should be supplied that religion also was taught. What was to be said about this scheme? The Free Church was carrying on an enterprise of its own, and believed itself to be strong enough to sustain it single-handed,—was it to enter into a new alliance with the State, and accept its help to do any part of its work?

The matter was serious enough to require very anxious consideration, and a long debate about it took place in the General Assembly — the prominent speakers being Drs. Candlish and Cunningham, Sheriffs Spiers and Monteith, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Moncreiff.

It was then a new subject, and it is interesting to notice the different points of view from which it was regarded. On the one hand, a motion was moved by Mr. Duncan of St. Boswells, seconded by Mr. Sorley of Selkirk, which concluded as follows:—

"The General Assembly feel themselves called upon to avoid and disclaim the responsibility of giving effect to a scheme professedly providing for the instruction of the people, in which truth and error are regarded with equal favour, and being satisfied that they cannot *in hoc statu* receive the aid of the Government for educational purposes, and at the same time honestly testify against the unsound and dangerous principles involved in the measures under which it is extended to them, they hereby instruct and enjoin all the

congregations of this Church, and all the membership thereof, from applying for such aid, and by all means to beware of bartering for pecuniary advantages the crown rights of the Redeemer."

The extreme character of this motion was happily recognised, and in the end only five voted for it. But it was held to be a mistake in the Government to require instruction in "religion" without defining the term, and a change in the scheme so far was demanded unanimously.

"I have no objection," said Dr. Cunningham, "that Papists and Socinians should be aided in receiving education out of the resources of the empire. I think they ought to receive that aid. I think it is the duty of the Government of Great Britain to provide, if possible, that the Popish children of the community should be educated. Of course neither I, nor any other member of this House, could ever become a consenting party to the funds of the nation being employed in teaching Popery or Socinianism;" but, he went on to say, he gave a hearty support to the resolution proposed by Dr. Candlish, which suggested that the Government might be able to give secular education without undertaking any responsibility as to religion, and which recommended the managers of Free Church schools to accept grants in aid if they saw their way to apply for them.

The help thus afforded gave a fresh impulse to the Education Scheme, and year after year showed it to be constantly progressing. In 1850, for example, Dr. Candlish reported the establishment of 657 subsidised schools, with an attendance on them of close upon 60,000 pupils. There were, however, a number of other Free Church schools which derived no support from the Committee, and when these were taken account of, the calculation was that about 74,000 children were receiving education at the hands of the Free Church.

But the very success of the scheme was giving new interest to questions which some had never lost sight of, and which they were now encouraged to press on the attention of the country. Why, for example, they asked, should the Church go on to maintain an enterprise whose dimensions were always growing, and the support of which must become ever more and more burdensome, when no attempt was being made to open up and improve the parochial system? Professor Fleming, in 1848, had complained that at the very outset he had urged the consideration of that matter on the Church, and had met with no encouragement or sympathy; but in the Assembly of 1850 Dr. Begg went farther, and made a motion the first paragraph of which was as follows:—

"That the national education of Scotland is in a most unsatisfactory state, both in respect of its amount and quality, and because of the exclusive connection with the Established Church now embracing only a minority of the population, and that unless immediate means are adopted for securing a comprehensive and effective system, the evil, instead of abating, will increase as the population advances."

In speaking to this motion, Dr. Begg said:

"The state of the matter historically I take to be this. I was most anxious, for one, that the general Church Question which ended in the Disruption should not be held to settle the question of national education; in other words, that when we left the parish churches, we should not have held ourselves to have left the parish schools. The people certainly did not. The battle of the Church was complete at the Disruption; the battle of the schools I have from the Disruption believed to be still unfought, and it must be fought now."

Dr. Begg's powerful speech was very ably seconded by one whose racy pen has made a School History of Scotland

as readable as a romance (Mr. Mackenzie of Dunfermline), and it was supported by Mr. Makgill Crichton, but it received in the end only sixteen votes. The currents, however, had begun to run too strongly to be successfully resisted, and the cry for a national system more suited to the times grew ever louder and louder. How this had come about was a question. Mr. Mackenzie, in referring to the agitation which had commenced, had characteristically likened it to the kindling of the furze in the days of Bruce; and Dr. Candlish, using the similitude, had replied: "I shall take upon myself to say that, if a beacon has been lighted to illuminate the darkness of Scotland in respect of educational destitution, and herald in the attempts for meeting that gigantic evil, the blame, or credit, or accident if you will, must lie at the door not of the recent manifesto, but of our own Education Scheme of some years' standing. I doubt exceedingly whether, if such a beacon light had not been kindled in Scotland,—if 700 schools had not been established amidst many difficulties and discouragements,—I doubt much whether we would have seen the furze kindled by recent events."

Dr. Candlish was no doubt right. Here was another of the incidental results of the Disruption. Already the University test had gone, and to what was done by the Free Church in covering Scotland with schools we owe our present education system.

That end, however, did not come immediately. The Government was anxious enough to do what it could for Scotland, and all parties gradually came round to the belief that it is the function of the State to provide at least secular education for the people. But the difficulty was to find a scheme under which some security could be given for the teaching of religion, and a new and somewhat bitter controversy arose in connection with that subject.

The difficulties in the way of a satisfactory consummation were clearly foreseen by Dr. Candlish. Thus, in 1851, we find him saying that "they could not anticipate the future; they could not tell what agitations might take place within the ensuing year or two; but he would express it as his deliberate conviction, that if the Church should for a moment act upon the idea that a national system of education, for the sake of which she could surrender her own, was within reach, or likely to be within reach—if she were to act upon that supposition for a moment, she would betray her trust, fall into a most grievous blunder, and be found guilty in the sight of God of not knowing the time of her visitation."

He was right. A settlement was not then near. And, in fact, twenty years were to elapse before the Act now in force could make its way through Parliament. In the debates which took place during this interval, Hugh Miller, Dr. Guthrie, and Dr. Cunningham were among the earliest disputants, and Dr. Begg and Sir Henry Moncreiff among the latest,—Dr. Candlish, of course, being specially conspicuous all through; and Mr. James Moncreiff (afterwards Lord Moncreiff) seeking to mediate between parties in the House of Commons.

The end, when it came, was not reached *per saltum*. Again and again efforts were made to improve the situation. In 1852, for instance, Dr. Candlish brought under the notice of the Assembly the fact that the time was approaching for a revisal of the salaries paid to parochial teachers, and suggested that advantage should be taken of the opportunity to propose the opening up of the schools to men, otherwise suitable, who were willing to own the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The suggestion was acted upon. Parliament was petitioned in terms of it. And a deputation, consisting of Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Mackellar, and Dr. Buchanan, went up

to London and interviewed the Government authorities on the subject. The result was that in 1854 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord Advocate Moncreiff, providing for the end specified. But it was thrown out by a majority of one.

In 1855 and 1856 similar measures were proposed, but although these were carried in the Commons, they were lost in the Lords. In 1859, when Lord Derby was Prime Minister, Mr. Baxter and Mr. Moncreiff submitted a measure for the abolition of all the tests in schools, but this met with the same fate as the others; and it was not till 1861–62 that the Act at last passed which loosened the tie connecting the parochial schools with the Church, and transferred several of the functions hitherto discharged by the latter to the Universities and the State.

So far the change was for the better. It was no longer imperative that the teachers should be members of the Established Church. But the improvement was more apparent than real. "The parish minister," to quote Sir Henry Craik, "still retained in practice a very important part in the appointment of the teacher; his power of nominating him to certain parochial offices, often conjoined by custom with that of teacher, gave him a tolerably complete control, and the Presbyteries still retained the power of examining and superintending the schools." The consequences were eminently unsatisfactory. An appointment to a parish school came to be, for Free Church teachers, simply a temptation to leave their own communion, and the arrangement, it was seen, could not possibly be accepted as final.

A settlement, however, which had been brought about after a great deal of agitation, could not be disturbed at once. Besides, between 1866 and 1868, the Conservatives were in power, and it was not consistent with their policy to seek to

diminish in any way the influence of the Establishment. But, in the latter year, a party gained the ascendancy which had more of the advanced Liberal element in it than any that had yet been seen in this country, and a fresh agitation commenced. Mr. Moncreiff, whose services in this connection can never be forgotten, was now on the Bench. But his post of Lord Advocate was occupied by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Young, who was quite prepared to follow the lead of his predecessor, and in his hands a Bill was carried through the Commons, and ultimately passed by the House of Lords. This was in 1872, and it was then that the great national education system was established, which, with modifications, has been maintained since.

It was not without difficulty that this consummation was assented to. In 1863, Dr. Candlish had retired from the Convenership, and had been succeeded by Dr. Nixon. Dr. Nixon threw himself with characteristic energy into the work entrusted to him, and under his direction the scheme received for a time a new impulse. But he was going against the tide, and it was vain to hope that he could permanently withstand it. But his interest in the high aims of his own enterprise disposed him to look critically on the schemes proposed by others, and he strenuously objected to the Conscience Clause which was inserted in the Bill of the Government. He held that the schoolmaster should be left free to teach according to his discretion, and to mingle religious with secular instruction at any moment of the day. In this view he was supported by Dr. Begg, who had formerly advocated the leaving of the business of religious teaching under the control of the parents, but who (as his biographer admits) departed from that position in his later years, and insisted on the State issuing its own commands on the subject. Sir Henry Moncreiff, on the other hand, argued

that some consideration behoved to be shown to those in the country who were not Presbyterians, and that the State in authorising the School Boards (representing the parentage of Scotland) to teach not only the Bible, but (under the protection of a Conscience Clause) the Shorter Catechism also, it had conceded all that could reasonably be asked of it.

When the Act was passed, there were 548 schools with 584 teachers receiving grants from the Education Fund. What happened to all of these it would be difficult to say. But in 1874, Dr. Main, who had succeeded Dr. Nixon in the chair of the Committee, reported to the Assembly that 139 Free Church schools had been transferred to School Boards; that 282 had been discontinued—most of the teachers having been employed elsewhere, and the buildings retained for congregational purposes; and that 119 congregations had intimated their intention to carry on their schools, at least for a time, as before.

The Free Church Scheme thus so far came to an end, but it had by no means existed in vain. During its maintenance the religious instruction of the young was carried on with a faithfulness and an earnestness which cannot be said to characterise in the same degree the present system. In many schools the Shorter Catechism continues to be taught with regularity and conscientiousness, but in others it has not the place it once enjoyed, and that may be considered a great misfortune. But, besides, it is unquestionably true what Dr. Candlish said, that if it had not been for the part taken by the Free Church in the education of the country, the existing Act would not have been passed so soon. As it is, things are now in a condition with which we have cause to feel satisfied. The country is covered with schools which are many of them handsome, and are all

furnished with the best appliances. Teachers, effectively trained, are being provided in adequate number. And with the compulsory system in operation, every child in the land is being taught. Scotland has regained its former place among the nations, and may now hold up its head as one of the best educated countries in the world.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to say that a serious oversight took place at the Jubilee of the Free Church, when no notice was taken of the sacrifices made in 1843 by the teachers, or of the services rendered to the Church by the profession as a whole. This, we know, has been felt somewhat keenly by representative men among them, and we are sure that none can more regret this extraordinary act of forgetfulness than those who had the charge of the celebration.

Hitherto, in what has been said, we have been speaking only of what the Church did in the way of providing schools for the country. But the view we are taking of this subject would be very incomplete if we did not refer to its work in the training of schoolmasters.

It is to Mr. David Stow, a Glasgow cotton-spinner, that Scotland is indebted for its Normal Schools. He was one of the many who came under the spell of Chalmers, and it was while he was working in a Sabbath school that he was led to see the need of teachers undergoing some kind of preparation. With that in view, he opened in 1817 the Infants' Model School, out of which grew, in 1836, the founding of the first Normal College in Great Britain. When this building was completed, in Mr. Stow's own city of Glasgow, it was found that a debt remained upon it of £11,000. For relief from this burden the help of the Government was sought, and it was given (to the extent of £5000), on a condition the full significance of which was

not at the time realised. The condition was that the institution should be made over to the Established Church. At the time it belonged to the Glasgow Educational Society, through whose instrumentality it had been erected, and all the directors of that Society except one joined the Free Church. But the law was plain and remorseless. And when, in 1844, it was ascertained that all the masters, without exception, had gone out, they were required to remove, with all their scholars, to new premises hastily provided.

The Free Church, of course, could do nothing but face the responsibility thus thrown upon her. Mainly through the efforts of Dr. Robert Buchanan, money was raised for a new building, and the present College, which cost £10,000, was opened free of debt on the 12th of August 1845. Since then additions costing £5000 have been made to the institution, and otherwise it has, in all respects, been so thoroughly equipped, that it can stand comparison with any similar establishment in the kingdom.

In 1836, Mr. John M'Crie, a son of the biographer of Knox, was appointed Rector of the College, and was succeeded first by the Rev. Robert Cunningham, afterwards of Blair Lodge; next by Mr. Hislop, a brother of the Rev. Stephen Hislop of Nagpore; and then, in 1851, by Dr. Morrison, who still holds the post. Since the institution of the College, 1716 males and 2227 females have been trained in it as teachers, and many of these are now filling important positions at home and abroad. At present (November 1894) there is an attendance of 183 students, with a practising school of between 600 and 700 children.

In Edinburgh the movement toward a Normal School was begun somewhat later than in Glasgow. About 1835 a commencement was made, in a humble way, in the Sessional

School of the Tron Parish, but it was not till 1841–42 that a building was erected, with Government help, to carry on the work in a systematic manner. At the date of the Disruption the rectorship of the College was held by Mr. Thomas Oliphant, a man whose name will always be associated with the educational and religious history of Edinburgh. He came out with, we believe, all his staff and scholars, and temporary premises were found for them in Rose Street. In 1847, Moray House, in the Canongate, was secured for the institution, and there the great business has been carried on ever since, of training a fair proportion of the teachers of Scotland. The Education Act, while virtually putting an end to the Free Church Scheme so far as its schools were concerned, did not touch the Normal Colleges, and every year about 160 students are in attendance at the Free Church institution in Edinburgh. Such a pressure, indeed, exists into the profession, that the Government has found it necessary to restrict its grants in aid, and the Free Church and Established Church are permitted to train yearly only 400 students each. Since 1863 the number trained in Moray House has been 2530. After Mr. Oliphant's resignation of the rectorship, the office was filled first by Mr. Fulton, and then by Mr. Sime, and it is now occupied with distinction by Dr. Maurice Paterson. There is, of course, a large practising school connected with the College, and all the departments are in a state of high efficiency.

The Aberdeen Normal School was not established until the beginning of 1875 — the idea of it originating with Principal Lumsden. It began in a very modest way as a sort of appendage to the South Parish Free Church School, whose master, Mr. Ramage, was persuaded to undertake its oversight. For some years it was carried on in the session-house of the church, but in 1879 a building was erected,

which (although the practising school is in an unsatisfactory state) suits the purpose well. At first only females were received, but a male side was added in 1887, and now the College is allowed by Government to train yearly 12 men and 56 women. Mr. Ramage died in 1889, and was succeeded in 1890 by the present rector, Mr. Adams. Since its establishment the school has sent out 565 as teachers.

It has been often said that the schoolmaster makes the school, and it is a matter of some importance that the teachers of Scotland are to so large an extent trained in institutions—like those of the Free and Established Churches —where, in the preparations, religion is made to take a very prominent place.

The first Education Convener was Dr. Welsh. He was succeeded by Dr. Cunningham, who held the office for two years. After him came Dr. Candlish, who directed the scheme with extraordinary energy from 1846 to 1863. For ten years more, Dr. Nixon occupied the chair; and when he resigned, in 1873, Dr. Thomas Main was called to the post. He again, in 1881, gave place to Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, since whose death the duties of Convener have been discharged by Dr. John M'Ewan. The Secretaries have been Mr. James Crawford, W.S., Mr. Samuel Raleigh, C.A., Mr. John Gibson, Rev. Robert Cunningham, Dr. Alexander Reid, Mr. William Gray, Mr. Alexander Thomson, and Mr. James Watt.

CHAPTER IX

THE HIGHLANDS

FOR the circumstance that the drift of feeling and opinion in the Highlands was in 1843 strongly in favour of the Free Church, various explanations can be given. One is that from the Reformation powerful influences prevailed there in support of evangelical religion. When, for example, in 1560, the Scottish Parliament overthrew the Papal Establishment and ratified the Confession of Faith, all the Commissioners from beyond the Grampians—including the Earl of Sutherland of the day, Grant of Grant, and the chief of the Munroes—voted for the Protestant position, and what they did produced, we are assured, a great effect upon the people. It is also worth remembering that the famous Robert Bruce of Kinnaird was banished twice to Inverness, and that during the five years of his residence in that city he preached to immense numbers of the inhabitants, who crowded to hear him from all the northern counties. One of his converts was a son of the Laird of Kitwell, who was afterwards ordained minister of Durness, in which he was much blessed, and where he died in 1653. Other men have left behind them fragrant memories in these regions—such as the two Mackays, father and son, who laboured in Lairg; Hogg of Kiltearn, and others. During the Covenanting era, when the faithful ministers were driven out of their

parishes, their people, it is said, kept the fire burning by holding prayer meetings among themselves.

Later on, revivals of greater or less extent took place in different parts of the country, and in connection with the preaching of men of spiritual power. Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh was specially owned in these connections; a considerable awakening, for instance, which affected the whole of Easter and Wester Ross, having begun under a sermon of his in the summer of 1840. These revivals gave the people, one may say, a taste for the gospel, and this taste they sought to gratify by flocking at communion seasons to the parishes of those ministers who were believed to preach it. And in the Lowlands the tendency was in favour of the increase of ministers of this order, and the number of outstanding men who were emphatically evangelical had become considerable before the Disruption. Among these, in addition to Dr. Macdonald, who has been justly called "The Apostle of the North," were M'Intosh of Tain, Stewart of Cromarty, Fraser of Kirkhill, Roderick M'Leod of Snizort, and many more.

All this would not have told so influentially in the direction of preparing the Highlands for the Disruption, if it had not been for two other things—one, the disposition which has always been manifested there to move in masses; the other, the peculiar affection borne in these regions to the Church of Scotland. It is a curious circumstance that Dissent never met with any encouragement even in the parishes where the people were most dissatisfied with their ministers. Various attempts were made to induce agreement with proposals to form Secession congregations, but the proposals met with little or no encouragement. If a Dissenting visitor preached the gospel, he would be listened to; but a deaf ear was turned to him when he suggested withdrawal

from the Church. If a confirmed Moderate occupied the pulpit, his parishioners refused to wait on his ministry; but they did their best to preserve the life of religion among themselves by private meetings, in which they were led by "the Men," or by the employment of catechists. Such a thing as the setting up of an altar in opposition to the National Church was not entertained, and it was all the more striking to find them, in 1843, recognising the Church of Chalmers and Macdonald as that to which they and their fathers had always belonged.

The other feature referred to is no less notable — the tendency to move in masses. Whether the Celtic nature is more sympathetic, or the habit of following leaders is a remnant of the old feeling of loyalty to the chiefs, certain it is that individuality is less common in the Highlands than in the Lowlands, and that in the former the disposition is stronger to move in companies. In any case, the wave swept over them as it did in no other part of the country, and the movement which issued in the formation of the Free Church was, one might say, tidal in its volume.

It was not unusual, Dr. Kennedy tells us, to charge the people of the North with a lack of intelligence on this account, and he quotes a saying of Dr. Macdonald in their vindication. "The Highlanders," says the great preacher, "are charged with having acted ignorantly at the time of the Disruption. They blindly, it is said, followed a few ministers and laymen who were popular among them. Even if it were so, it is to them no reproach. 'The fairest among women' herself was once at a loss what to do and whom to follow, and the direction given to her by her beloved was 'to go forth by the footsteps of the flock,' and to 'feed her kids beside the shepherds' tents.'"

How largely the Highlands sympathised with the evan-

gelical revival which began with the century, is illustrated in the formation in 1800 of "The Northern Missionary Society."[1] It was established by the ministers of Easter Ross; it gathered into its ranks all the men who had at heart the conversion of the world; during its continuance it contributed to the various societies in which it had confidence over £7000; and it ceased to exist only when the Free Church undertook to provide an adequate outlet for all the zeal that could be awakened.

When the Disruption took place, there were 206 ministers who were in the habit of using the Gaelic language more or less in the pulpit; and of these 101 came out. In most cases their congregations left the Establishment also, but it was not for their wants alone that provision required to be made. All over the Highlands and Islands people joined the Free Church, who left their ministers behind them, and one of the greatest difficulties which had to be overcome was the supply of ordinances to such adherents. What made the situation more perplexing was, that in a number of districts direct church superintendence was impossible. While in some instances whole Synods came out, in others whole Presbyteries stayed in. The wants of outlying adherents in the Lowlands were met with comparative ease. They were not overpowering in number, they were all within reach of ordained ministers, and the supply of probationers was fairly adequate. But in the Highlands the case was very different. The adherents for whom provision required to be made were there, according to Dr. Mackay, in the proportion of ten to one farther South; and how formidable were the responsibilities which the Church was at once required to face, may be gathered from the fact that in the Glasgow Assembly of

[1] A most interesting account of this Society is given by Dr. Kenneth Macdonald in *The Indian Evangelical Review* for January 1894.

1843 it was reported that there were 151 congregations and stations waiting to be occupied, and that only 31 preachers were available to be sent to them.

The crisis, however, was met with characteristic courage and earnestness. Catechists were employed when no other arrangements could be made; young men were encouraged to study for the ministry and helped to bear the cost of the preparation; ministers were set free from their congregations for months at a time, to preach in such places as were without regular ordinances; and a yacht (*The Breadalbane*) was built to carry the Church's messengers from island to island in the Hebrides. At first the scheme was managed by a branch of the Home Mission Committee, but those who were most interested in it began to feel that justice was not being done to the undertaking by its being made to occupy, as it seemed, a subordinate place, and, on the motion of Dr. Mackintosh Mackay, the Assembly of 1849 gave to the Committee on the Highlands the position of a standing Committee. Some doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of dividing the interest of the Church in this way, but it was seen to be the wish of the Highlanders themselves, and the proposal was agreed to heartily and unanimously.

The cause received undoubtedly a distinct impulse from this arrangement. It came to bulk more fully in the public eye. A larger measure of material support was given to it. And, under the superintendence of the first Convener, Dr. Mackay — after him, of Dr. Thomas Maclauchlan, who occupied the chair of the Committee for nearly thirty years, from 1855 to 1882; and still later, of Principal Rainy—churches were built, endowments were secured, and agents of various sorts were multiplied, which have brought ordinances within the reach of almost all who desired to enjoy them.

In no part of the country has the Disruption been a greater blessing than in the Highlands. Before 1843, the parishes in which there were Moderate ministers were "preserved," in the worst sense of the word. Men like Dr. Macdonald were forbidden to enter them, and the gospel was kept outside. When the crisis came, the barriers were broken down, and the Word had free course throughout the length and breadth of the land. Then the advantage was seen of the Free Church being unhampered by civil entanglements. An Establishment—as Chalmers was made to feel in his Church Extension movement—cannot proceed to lengthen its cords without checks and hindrances. Nothing, however, now stood in the way of the expansion of the Free Church but its own inherent inability to effect it. Hence parochial boundaries were disregarded, stations were established wherever they seemed called for, and the wants of multitudes were supplied who had formerly been left out in the cold. The consequence is, that the people of the North and West are better supplied with ordinances than they were before the Disruption—in the 135 Highland parishes there being no fewer than 183 Free Church charges. But, to realise what the Committee had to face in 1843, and how much they have succeeded in accomplishing since, it is necessary to examine a table like the following, one column of which shows how things stood at the Glasgow Assembly, the other what was the condition of matters in 1893.

	In Oct. 1843.	In 1893.
Abernethy	...	7 charges
Nairn	6	6 „
Inverness . . .	7	13 „
Chanonry . . .	5	7 „
Dingwall . . .	8	11 „
Tain	9	10 „
Dornoch . . .	8	10 „
Tongue . . .	4	8 „

	In Oct. 1843.	In 1893.
Caithness . . .	...	18 charges
Lochcarron . . .	4	12 „
Abertarff . . .	...	9 „
Skye	1	8 „
Uist	1	7 „
Lewis	4	11 „
Kintyre . . .	5	12 „
Islay	2	5 „
Lorn	3	8 „
Mull	3	11 „
Breadalbane . . .	4	10 „
	74	183

"In the three Synods of Sutherland and Caithness, Ross and Glenelg, where there were 80 parish ministers," says the Report submitted to the Jubilee Assembly, "there are 113 Free Church ministers, showing that the needs of the people have been more effectively attended to, to the extent of giving them thirty-three new parishes. In Lewis, with its large population, there were four parish churches and two *quoad sacra*, and after the Disruption there were four charges and two stations; but matters have improved so that now there are eleven full charges. In Skye, where, after the Disruption, the Rev. Roderick M'Leod of Snizort was alone, there are now eight full charges and two stations. In Uist, where the Rev. Norman Macleod of Innisferry was also alone, there are now seven full charges and two stations, at one of which there is an ordained missionary."

Nor is it only in respect of the number of charges that the Free Church has kept pace with the Establishment. Its congregations are so much larger that no visitor can fail to notice that it is emphatically the Church of the people.

Reference has been made to some of the difficulties which had to be encountered in seeking to supply ordinances in the Highlands, but those named have been very much hitherto of

an ordinary kind, arising chiefly from the largeness of the field and the inadequacy of the means of supply. Other difficulties, however, by and by arose, which hampered the Church's movements, and which have given a peculiar character to the history of religion in the region during the last fifty years.

Nothing further needs to be said about what has been called "the infatuated intolerance that would hardly allow congregations standing room on their native rocks." It was sufficiently trying at the time, and one reads now with a feeling at once of astonishment and shame of the hardships which men had to endure in Sutherlandshire and elsewhere, and of the floating church which had to be established at Strontian. But this state of things did not last very long, and its effects have not been permanent.

A more serious matter—because one more deep-cutting in its tendency and influence—was "the gradual disuse of the Gaelic language in the classes of society from which ministers had been chiefly drawn." Formerly the land had been occupied by tacksmen—natives of the country—who cultivated farms of moderate dimensions, and who were able to give some of their sons a University education. These sons were accustomed to speak the Gaelic in their own homes, and when they gave themselves to the Church were able to preach in the language of the people. But new views came to prevail. The land was turned into deer forests or let in vast reaches for pasture, and the tacksmen gave way to incomers from the South, who spoke English only, and who used no other than that tongue among their children. The consequence was one which was fitted to cause no small amount of anxiety, because it would not have been possible or desirable to supply the lack of ministers from among the crofters by a mere system of gifts or bursaries.

Happily, however, the difficulty was met in a very remarkable way. The famine of 1846 took place, and the whole Free Church was stirred by the news published of the lamentable condition into which it had brought the Highlands. A contribution of £10,000, afterwards largely supplemented, was immediately made for their relief, and among other things the yacht *Breadalbane* was sent among the Western islands to carry provisions to those who might otherwise have perished. The effort thus made did not end with itself. In distributing the relief funds, "appalling discoveries were made regarding the spiritual as well as the temporal destitution of large numbers of our Celtic countrymen," and these discoveries led to the formation of the Ladies' Associations in Edinburgh and Glasgow for the Religious Improvement of the Remote Highlands and Islands. And it is not too much to say that we owe to this Association the saving of the Church in that region.

"One of its objects," says Dr. Rainy, "was to teach the people English, without which it was impossible to carry out many of the benevolent schemes started for the relief of the people, by emigration or by giving them employment in the Lowlands. But its chief aims were to help forward promising candidates for the ministry, and to diffuse Bible knowledge as widely as possible. The plan was to pick out the more pious and talented Highland youths, and by employing them as teachers during seven months of the year to help them through the expenses of their winter sessions in College."

What was accomplished by this means may be inferred from the fact, that in the course of thirty years more than a hundred stations in the most inaccessible corners of the land were occupied for longer or shorter periods, and that upwards of three hundred student-teachers had been employed, of whom more than one-fourth were afterwards ordained to

ministerial charges. It is a striking testimony to the Ladies' Schools, that some of the ablest ministers we now have owe their position to the help they received in them. But for the openings they offered, it would have been impossible for them to have faced the preliminary training for the Church.

It must also be added that the efforts of the Ladies' Association have been powerfully reinforced by what Dr. M'Phail of Pilrig has done in connection with his Grammar School Bursary Scheme. The object of that Scheme has not been specially to train men for the ministry. Those who sought its help were permitted to follow any profession they chose. But indirectly it has proved of great service to the Church, and Dr. M'Phail can point to a number of prominent ministers who would not be occupying the places they now fill if they had not, at the outset of their lives, received encouragement from his enterprise. We may say, also, that it is largely owing to the perseverance of Dr. M'Phail that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been enlarged in its scope, and is now spending its very considerable income in furthering the general good of the Highlands.

This chapter would be incomplete if no reference was made in it to some circumstances which have seemed to separate the Church of the Highlands at times from the Church in the Lowlands.

In these regions, for instance, the keenest opposition was offered to any union with the United Presbyterians, and no movement of any sort, away from the position taken up in 1843, could be proposed without calling forth strenuous objections. The agitations produced were not confined to ministers and office-bearers and Church Courts. They disturbed the whole people. Congregations were addressed on all disputed questions, and petitions were laid upon the table of the General Assembly suggesting courses of action to it

which were signed by thousands of persons in the remotest parts of the land. This restlessness may be said to have reached its climax when, in 1892, a Declaratory Act was passed, the object of which was to relieve the consciences of those who thought the Confession of Faith capable of being interpreted in some respects otherwise than the Church believed. That Act was immediately submitted to the people at large, and was expounded in ways which has resulted in a secession, led by two ministers, sustained by several students, and supported all over the Highlands and Islands by the sympathies of sections of individual members in most of the congregations.

When the preparation of an Act such as has been passed was proposed, it was declared by the General Assembly that the Free Church could "contemplate the adoption of no change which should not be consistent with a cordial and steadfast adherence to the great doctrines of the Confession," and this position was constantly kept in view by the Committee which was subsequently appointed. It was conceded, however, that the wording of the Confession might conceivably prove a stumbling-block to some, and it was agreed to endeavour so to indicate the mind of the Church on certain points as to guard against unwarrantable inferences.

Thus, in the first place, the Confession had been represented as setting forth the sovereignty of God so as to leave out of sight His love to a lost world, and it was thought right to vindicate it and the Church from that charge. Hence the Act opened with the following clause:—

I.

"That, in holding and teaching according to the Confession, the Divine purpose of grace towards those who are

saved, and the execution of that purpose in time, this Church most earnestly proclaims, as standing in the forefront of the revelation of grace, the love of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to sinners of mankind, manifested especially in the Father's gift of the Son to offer Himself a propitiation for sin, and in the striving of the Holy Spirit with men to bring them to repentance."

Another misinterpretation of the Confession lay in accusing it of teaching a doctrine of election which implied the foreordination of men to eternal death irrespective of their own guilt. The mischief done by this misconception was known to be great, and, to correct it, this second clause was introduced into the Act:—

II.

"That this Church also holds that all who hear the gospel are warranted and required to believe to the saving of their souls; and that in the case of such as do not believe, but perish in their sins, the issue is due to their own rejection of the gospel call. That this Church does not teach, and does not regard the Confession as teaching, the foreordination of men to death irrespective of their own sin."

Yet again it has been a common thing to charge Calvinism with shutting its disciples up to believing in the damnation of many infants, and in the impossibility of any being saved outside the visible Church. Those who have an intelligent acquaintance with the system do not so understand it. They do not profess to know God's mind in regard to things He has not revealed, but for that very reason they object to be driven to conclusions for which, to say the least of it, they have no specific warrant. Accordingly, the General Assembly added a cautious and temperate clause to the Act—a clause which is in absolute harmony with the

Confession, as is indicated in these words: "Elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how He pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word." The Confession recognises election as indispensable in every case, but it does not limit the Holy Ghost, or confine His operations to the ordinary ministry of the Word—no salvation, however, taking place except through the merits of Christ and by regeneration.

III.

"That it is the duty of those who believe, and one end of their calling by God, to make known the gospel to all men everywhere for the obedience of faith. And that, while the gospel is the ordinary means of salvation for those to whom it is made known, yet it does not follow, nor is the Confession to be held as teaching, that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His mercy, for Christ's sake, and by His Holy Spirit, to those who are beyond the reach of these means, as it may seem good to Him, according to the riches of His grace."

A fourth point which seemed to require notice was the place of the natural virtues. The doctrine of human depravity had been sometimes so preached as to contradict the common experience of the world and relieve men of personal responsibility. It was necessary to say that in accepting the Confession no one was required to deny the existence of honour and honesty as between man and man, or to hold that the Fall had rendered us incapable of recognising the claims of morality and the gospel. To meet this demand it was declared—

IV.

"That in holding and teaching, according to the Confession

of Faith, the corruption of man's whole nature as fallen, this Church also maintains that there remain tokens of his greatness as created in the image of God; that he possesses a knowledge of God and of duty; that he is responsible for compliance with the moral law and with the gospel; and that, although unable without the aid of the Holy Spirit to return to God, he is yet capable of affections and actions which in themselves are virtuous and praiseworthy."

It does not need to be said that the Confession of Faith was drawn up at a time when the principles of toleration were not understood as they are now, and one of its chapters has been excluded or explained by every Presbyterian Church in the world. In the fifth clause of the Act a declaration is made which might almost now seem superfluous, for what it says is really something of a truism. But, taking up an attitude in relation to doubtful points, it was regarded as proper to be explicit on this; and so it was declared—

V.

"That this Church disclaims intolerant or persecuting principles, and does not consider her office-bearers, in subscribing the Confession, committed to any principles inconsistent with liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment."

Finally, the Assembly dealt with a matter which perhaps more urgently needed attention than any of the other questions. It has always been admitted that there are points in the Confession about which a difference of opinion exists, and in connection with which toleration is allowed. For example, it is certain that the Fathers believed in the creation of the world in six literal days, and that they may be said to have imposed that belief on all who sign our Standards. Now, however, many good Presbyterians have adopted quite another view, and yet nobody proposes to

prosecute them as heretics. So with the opinion that the Pope is Antichrist. That may be true, but there are orthodox men who think otherwise, and it is not thought to be worth the while of the Church to call them to account. In short, the principle is recognised that in connection with subjects of no moment some liberty must be permitted, and relief was now proposed to be given to those whose beliefs on all important points were expressed by the Confession, but who were troubled by finding that in some trifling matters they were not at one with it. They were not to think of themselves any longer as guilty of heresy. At the same time, no man was to fancy that an unlimited license was given to him. He was not to take up any doctrine he chose and say of it that it was one about which he was free to think as he liked. The Church alone claimed the right to decide in connection with what points liberty was to be conceded. The position, in fact, was one which had always been maintained, and which must always be maintained. Prosecutions for heresy will never be carried through except when the Church, for the time being, thinks that the views advocated are important enough to call for public condemnation. All that was now done was the putting into words of an invariable custom, and the only advantage following was the relief of some sensitive consciences. The clause itself was as follows :—

VI.

"That, while diversity of opinion is recognised in this Church on such points in the Confession as do not enter into the substance of the Reformed Faith therein set forth, the Church retains full authority to determine in any case which may arise, what points fall within this description, and thus to guard against any abuse of this liberty to the detriment of sound doctrine, or to the injury of their unity and peace."

The Act, in short, was one of the most innocent that the Church was ever called upon to adopt. Very many felt no need for it whatever, looking upon the Confession as already conceding plainly enough all that was now declared. But a very different account of it was given in the Highlands, and the result has been the most outstanding secession from the Free Church which has taken place since the Disruption.

It goes without saying that circumstances must have told very seriously against a right apprehension of the measure to explain what has occurred, and one of these is to be found in the view given of it by men in whom the Highlanders trusted. For the following representation, for example, of its separate clauses, we are indebted to one whose voice has been once and again heard in the General Assembly, and who claims to be a leader of opinion in the North.

"The Declaratory Act," he writes, "makes it lawful for the Free Church Assembly to allow a minister to hold and to teach—

"(1) That salvation is universal.

"(2) That the root of salvation is not the Divine, sovereign, electing love, but the Divine benevolence to all and single of the human race.

"(3) That the heathen may be saved who have never heard of the name of Christ.

"(4) That man is not so fallen as the Confession of Faith and the Bible represent him to be.

"(5) That nations and their rulers are not bound to serve the Lord Jesus Christ in their official acts, and should protect the Church of Christ.

"And (6) That the Act, in the opinion of the foremost lawyers, plainly teaches that an office-bearer in the Free Church may object to hold and teach any one of the saving

doctrines of the gospel if he chooses to plead that to do so would be intolerance and persecution."

That such a gross perversion of the Act should come from an educated man and a leader of the people, sufficiently explains the prevalence of illusions in the minds of many of the ordinary members of the Church. That something of the nature of an argument might be used in reference to the third and fourth clauses may be admitted. But what can possibly be said in favour of an exposition which sees in the Act the teaching of Universalism, the denial of the duty of rulers to serve Christ in their official acts, and the conceding of liberty to ministers to object to the saving doctrines of the gospel? These points are not in the remotest way dealt with in the offending Declaration, and yet here we have an idea given us of what the Highlanders have been told. It is exceedingly unlikely that any number of them had the words of the Act really in their hands. What it was held to require was reported to them by word of mouth; and in view of the interpretation quoted above, which was no doubt accepted in all simplicity, it is not to be wondered at that so many of them lost faith in the Free Church. But it is very evident that the Highlands have been imposed upon and deceived, and we may hope that, when the truth is known, they will return, in their entirety, to their allegiance.

Some explanation is suggested of the disturbances which have from time to time taken place in the North by the unwise use which has been made of the pulpit. In the South the invariable custom, one may say, is to avoid debateable subjects when congregations are gathered together for the purposes of worship. The preaching of the gospel, the exposition of the Word, the promotion of good works, these are the only things which are then thought of. Any attempt to produce party spirit by their discussing questions

of ecclesiastical polity would be frowned upon as emphatically objectionable. But in the Highlands this prudent rule has been disregarded; and specially at communion seasons, when crowds have gathered nominally to commemorate the dying of the Lord, it has been the custom to take up the points which were occupying the attention of the Church Courts at the moment, and speak of them with a freedom which did not always treat with respect the character of individual men. The consequences were inevitable. Ministers with the best intentions necessarily became partisans. Exaggerated impressions were received of movements in the Church. And the way was prepared for the outburst of fanaticism which has taken place.

With all that, no one can visit the Highlands without being impressed by the religious earnestness of the people. No language, it is said, is more suitable than Gaelic for use in the pulpit, and great preachers have from time to time been raised up in the country. Among those of recent times no men have been more distinguished than Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh and Dr. Kennedy of Dingwall. The former was a Disruption minister, the latter was licensed immediately after the crisis. Dr. Macdonald is remembered as "The Apostle of the North," and the popularity and influence of Dr. Kennedy were almost as great as those of his illustrious precursor. These men have not as yet had any successor. There is now no preacher in the Highlands who can sway the multitudes as they did. But there are not a few whose powers of attraction are large, and on them is laid the burden of a grave responsibility, that of guiding the people aright through a critical time.

Education is being widely diffused. Railways are opening up the country. The inhabitants are being brought into contact with the thoughts and the habits (good and bad)

of the South. It is vain to hope that any of the existing institutions will remain unaffected by all this. And he is the wise man who will show himself able to read the times aright, and, while clinging with tenacity to the fundamentals, will seek to adjust himself as far as is right to the new conditions.

A region in which prayer is so much a custom, that within one congregation a hundred men may be got who can take part in a religious meeting, is one which it is impossible to think of without interest and respect, but such a region is in especial danger during a transition period, and nowhere else in Scotland than in the Highlands is there more need of prudence and judgment, of breadth of view and largeness of heart.

The early Conveners of the Highland Committee were Dr. Candlish and Dr. Mackintosh Mackay; but in 1855, Dr. Thomas Maclauchlan was called to the post, and he filled it till 1882. Since then the chair has been occupied by Principal Rainy. The Rev. D. Fraser was the first Secretary; but after 1855 the work was done by clerks until the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Lee, who, after having rendered valuable service to the Church as Vice-Convener and Joint-Convener of the Committee, was elected its Secretary and Mission Superintendent by the Assembly of 1894.

CHAPTER X

MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN

WHEN Dr. Candlish was called upon in the Disruption Assembly to give in the Report on Foreign Missions, he had nothing to say beyond announcing that a *Missionary Record* would at once be issued under Free Church auspices, and proposing the appointment of Dr. Gordon as Convener of the Committee in room of Dr. Brunton.

No telegraph then connected India with this country, and there was no Suez Canal to shorten the distance between them.

Weeks, therefore, and even months passed before it was certainly known how the men in the field were to act.

At last, however, the long-looked-for news arrived. It was made known that all the missionaries in India without exception had cast in their lot with the Church which had separated from the State; and a new and very grave responsibility had to be faced.

The situation which now demanded attention was the following:—

In 1824 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland reversed the decision it had come to in 1796, and resolved to concern itself about the conversion of the heathen. It proceeded about this business, however, in a very leisurely way, and it was not till 1829 that its first missionary actually set out for the field which he was commissioned to

occupy. The missionary whom they had appointed was Dr. Alexander Duff.

He was born in 1806 at Moulin, and, after receiving his school education there, at Kirkmichael, and at Perth, he was sent in his fifteenth year to the University of St. Andrews. Here he came into contact with Chalmers, who was then filling the chair of Moral Philosophy, and was carried away by his fervid eloquence and devotion. In response to the appeals which were being made for a man to represent the Church in India, he was induced to offer himself, and the offer was gladly accepted. After a long voyage, in which he encountered a shipwreck, he arrived at Calcutta in May 1830, and soon laid there the foundation of a work which has made his name a household word in all missionary circles.

Largely as the result of his enthusiasm, the Church at home rose to a fuller appreciation of its functions, and before 1843 arrived four other agents had been sent out to assist him in the work. These were Dr. Mackay, Dr. Ewart, Dr. Thomas Smith, and the Rev. John Macdonald; and with such success did they labour, that a number of conversions were made (some of them of a very striking character), a great institution was established, with an attendance upon it of nearly a thousand scholars, and several branch stations were opened at a greater or less distance from the centre.

But ground had also been broken in Bombay. In this city, however, the Church was not the first to commence work. The Scottish Missionary Society had sent out a man to Western India so early as 1823, and Mr. James Mitchell, Mr. Robert Nesbit, and Dr. John Wilson were all in the country as the agents of this Society before Dr. Duff. In 1835 the mission was transferred to the Church, and when the Disruption took place, all the three missionaries named,

along with Dr. Murray Mitchell (who had gone out in 1838), followed the example set in Calcutta.

There was a like experience in Madras. The mission there was founded in 1837 by Mr. John Anderson, with whom Mr. Robert Johnston came to be associated in 1839, and Mr. John Braidwood in 1841. They, too, intimated their withdrawal from the Establishment.

Thus it happened that the disestablished Church had no option but to be missionary. It was not left to itself to decide whether or not it would seek to evangelise the heathen. By means of the twelve men who now announced their adhesion to it, the light had been spreading hopefully in all the three Presidencies, and with such a band of agents placed at its disposal it could not but resolve to go forward. And, indeed, it had no difficulty in coming to that conclusion. It was already burning with zeal for the conversion of the world, and it assumed the new responsibility with enthusiasm.

A remarkable proof of the earnestness which possessed it was given immediately. In 1842, a lady on her deathbed had expressed a wish that a sum of money might be devoted to the establishment of a mission in Central India. Before her desire could be carried into effect, she died, but her husband—Captain Hill—resolved to do as she had purposed, and with that end in view he communicated with Dr. Wilson of Bombay. Nothing conclusive, however, had been done when the Disruption occurred, and Captain Hill had to decide to which Church he should make his offer. He determined to address himself to the Free Church, and before 1843 had ended, that Church was required to say whether, with all it had to face at home and abroad, it could undertake the burden of a new mission. It is true that an inducement to agree to this was presented in the shape of

a gift of £2500 in the Three Per Cents, but the interest on that sum could not possibly meet the cost of an additional station. But, as there is often occasion to say, it was a time of great faith and wonderful enterprise, and the issue was the beginning of the work in Nagpore under Mr. Hislop.

So far the eyes of the Church had been fixed on India. But the memorable year of 1843 was not to be allowed to close without its attention being turned in another direction.

So early as 1796 an undenominational Society had been formed in Glasgow, which some time after the beginning of the new century singled out South Africa as a field in which to work. There it met with very considerable success, founding stations some of which have become famous, and effecting noteworthy improvements in the condition of the Kaffirs. In 1837 the character of this mission became somewhat changed. The agents, who had belonged to different Churches in Scotland, agreed amicably to separate from one another; and while some elected to be in connection with the voluntary communions in their native country, others, and especially Messrs. Bennie, Ross, and Laing, chose to continue in fellowship with the Establishment. Consequently, when the Disruption came, there was an Established Church Missionary Presbytery of South Africa; and when the news of what had taken place here arrived, it was seen to be necessary to determine with which of the parties it was to side. And there seems to have been no difficulty felt in coming to a conclusion. A meeting was held at Lovedale in August 1843, and the Presbytery agreed unanimously to join the Free Church.

For some time afterwards the Glasgow Society continued to support this mission, but toward the close of 1844 negotiations began with a view to its superintendence being

undertaken by the Free Church Committee, and soon after that date the amalgamation was completed.

And yet another step forward was taken in the Inverness Assembly of 1845. Then it was resolved to open a new station at the Cape of Good Hope.

But even with all this, the desire to conquer the world for Christ was not satisfied. A wistful eye was cast upon China; and Dr. Candlish, in expressing his delight that the English Presbyterian Church was to enter that field, said: "I think it is a token for good that God has put it into the hearts of our brethren in England to think of China, as while it, in one view, supersedes the necessity of this Church undertaking missionary work there, so, on the other hand, it lays us under the duty of expressing our delight at their movement, together with a resolution to encourage them in the work they have undertaken." And here we may say that the wish thus expressed was not allowed to fall to the ground. The superintendence of the China Mission has been in the hands of the English Presbyterian Church, but the Free Church has annually furnished a considerable portion of the funds required, and most of the missionaries—including William Burns, Carstairs Douglas, and David Sandeman—have been of that communion.

For the maintenance of the various organisations which were now under the Church's control a very considerable income was necessary, and at first the means provided in the ordinary way proved adequate to meet all demands. But as time went on and expenses increased, the outlay was not met, and the missionary account came to be overdrawn to a great extent. Various expedients were resorted to to meet the emergency, but those tried first afforded only a temporary relief, and it was actually proposed to discontinue one of the missions. That proposal was in effect carried out

so far as to transfer the last established station at the Cape to the Colonial Committee. But retrenchment in the heathen field proper could not be entertained, and happily a solution of the difficulty was found when Dr. Duff returned home in 1850, and suggested the formation of congregational associations. Previously the income was received from collections taken at the church door. The new method proved to be immensely more fruitful, and the sum placed at the disposal of the Committee rose from £4373 in 1843 to £9518 in 1854. The enlarged and growing income, combined with the quickened missionary enthusiasm which was appearing in all the churches, naturally led to a fresh expansion of the enterprise, and again and again new responsibilities were undertaken.

At first the expansion in India took the shape simply of establishing branch stations in connection with the centres in the Presidency cities, and here a great work was done; but by and by a distinctly new departure took place when attempts were made to reach the aboriginal tribes. This work was begun on a comparatively small scale in 1867 among the Gonds at Chindwara, near Nagpore, and about the same time among the Waralis, who were reached from Bombay. But a distinctly new mission was established among the Santals when, in 1871, Dr. Templeton took up his abode in Pachamba, and so large a measure of success has attended it as fully to justify the increasingly earnest efforts which have been made since to reach the non-caste inhabitants of the country.

It is well known that when Dr. Duff reached Calcutta he adopted a new missionary method, that of trying to reach the natives of India by offering them educational advantages This method was found to suit the demands of the country in a very remarkable way, and institutions or schools have

been set up at all our principal stations. But the need for more immediately evangelistic means was always recognised, and among the various directions in which the expansion of the work was sought this came to be one. At Jalna and elsewhere, for example, in the Poonah district, a rural mission was established which proved a great success, the chief credit of which was due to Dr. Narayan Sheshadri. The importance of two other methods became also more and more clearly realised, namely, the employment of medical missionaries and of women to reach the females of India. And to these agencies a large measure of attention was given.

So much for India; but from Africa also came calls for the extension of the Church's operations. In 1868, the Rev. James Allison, who, though at one time a Wesleyan, had been conducting a successful mission on his own responsibility at Pietermaritzburg in Natal, proposed the transference of it along with himself to the Free Church. His offer was accepted, and a farm of nearly six thousand acres having been purchased at Impolweni, a place seventeen miles away, he was moved thither to found a settlement for the Christian and industrial training of young men.

This movement in Natal was shortly afterwards followed by another of a very interesting kind. The Hon. James Gordon, a son of the Earl of Aberdeen, had conceived the idea of settling in South Africa and devoting himself to the elevation of the native population there, but he was suddenly cut down while a student at Cambridge. His family, however, were touched by the thought of so gracious a purpose as his being frustrated, and they offered to the Free Church £6600 if it would agree to establish in the country in which his interest was so great a memorial mission. The proposal was agreed to, and a new station was formed by Dr. James Dalzell on the borders of Zululand in 1874.

About the same time—a little earlier—a new departure was made in the Kaffrarian work. The river Kei, lying to the north, was crossed, and the important station of Cunningham was established. The foundation of a new Lovedale was laid at Blythswood, in the Fingo country. Very encouraging results followed, other stations being opened in various directions in the territory.

It might have been thought that with all those new movements in prospect the Church would have hesitated to face any fresh enterprise. But in 1871 we find it turning its attention to Syria. For some time an undenominational Society had existed in Scotland which maintained schools in the Lebanon. It was thought desirable that these should be under the superintendence of some Church, and the Free Church was asked to undertake their oversight. It agreed to do so, and in 1872 the Rev. John Rae became the first missionary on the mountains. Mr. Rae was compelled to return home in 1879, but before he left, Dr. W. Carslaw was on the spot as his associate, and the mission became established on a solid basis, with Schweir, a populous village twenty miles from Beyrout, as its centre.

In the meantime the needs of Central Africa were being proclaimed in the ears of the world, and stirring the hearts of all the Churches. So early as 1861, Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, who had travelled with Dr. Livingstone in the heart of the continent, had suggested the founding of a mission in the regions they explored. But the Church was not then prepared to give effect to it. After Livingstone's death, however, and the reception of the news that the great traveller himself had expressed a hope that the Free Church would occupy the heights above Lake Nyassa, the call could no longer be disregarded, and in the Assembly of 1874 the forward movement was agreed to.

The expedition organised, however, did not set out till a year later. It was a very interesting expedition, for this among other reasons, that now for the first time all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches united in one foreign enterprise. The Reformed Presbyterian Church—then in an independent condition—asked to be formally received as a partner; the United Presbyterian Church offered an agent (Dr. Laws), and provided his salary; while the Established Church sent out along with it a pioneer missionary to seek for a site on which itself could begin work. The party sailed in May 1875, under the command of Lieutenant Young of the Royal Navy. On the 23rd of July following it reached the mouth of the Zambesi, and in the steamer *Ilala*, which had been taken out with them, they entered Lake Nyassa on the morning of the 12th of October.

Cape Maclear, the site first selected, though possessing an excellent harbour, was afterwards found to be unhealthy, and the headquarters were removed to Bandawé, half-way up on the left side of the lake. There and at the several branch stations the work has proceeded, not without interruption, but with a success which has been most signal.

In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterian Church ceased to exist as a separate body, and was united with the Free Church. When negotiations with a view to the amalgamation were going on, the question was naturally raised as to what was to become of the mission in the South Seas which had been conducted for a number of years by the first-named denomination. And to that question there could be but one answer. The Free Church behoved to undertake all the responsibilities that had been lying on the Church which it was incorporating; and hence the same year which saw ground broken in Central Africa saw also a new field, of a very different sort, entered on in Melanesia. Dr. Inglis had been established since 1852

in the island of Aneityum, and there, and in Fatuna, the Free Church has ever since been labouring.

But the work of extension was not yet complete. On the 14th of September 1885 there took place a remarkable Conference in Edinburgh. The Conference was on the one hand between the Free Church Foreign Mission Committee, and on the other between the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, a son of the Earl of Kintore. Mr. Falconer was a graduate of Cambridge and Professor of Arabic in that University. His interest as a scholar in the East had led to his becoming acquainted with Arabia, and especially with Aden and the country lying back from it. Being an earnest Christian man, and deeply concerned as such about the evangelisation of the world, it struck him that in this region there were remarkable openings for work among the Mohammedans, and he conceived the idea of giving himself personally to it. Not caring, however, to start on a purely independent basis, he sought recognition from the Church of which his father had been an elder, and to which he himself belonged, and it was with a view to that that he had the meeting with the Foreign Missions Committee in Edinburgh. His proposals were welcomed with great cordiality; and when, a month later, he set out for Aden, he went to establish what has become a new Free Church mission. "My notion," he wrote, "is to start an industrial refuge, a day school, and surgery. There are two principal doors to Arabia—the children who can be trained up in the faith of Christ, and the medical aid. Arabs often come from a long distance to Aden to be treated, and these would stop short at our mission house, and there are plenty of orphans and castaways whom one could get. . . . If I build and get a plot of ground (which is an easy matter at Shaikh Othman), I shall hand them over to the Free Church of Scotland. They have recognised me as representing them."

It was a sight to be wondered at, that of a young man of noble birth, one of the most accomplished Arabic scholars of the day, and a Cambridge professor, beginning a missionary undertaking at his own expense and giving himself to it. But, alas! he was not permitted to remain personally long in the field. Some of his plans were carried into effect. He procured the ground he wanted at Shaikh Othman, he built a hospital upon it, he saw the work being carried on by suitable agents; but in the spring of 1887 he himself was seized with fever, and on the 10th of May he entered into his rest.

His death did not put an end to the mission. With the substantial help which was continued to be afforded by Mrs. Keith-Falconer and the Kintore family, the Free Church has in the face of discouragements held the ground, and the hope is cherished that the sacrifices made on its account may not be endured in vain.

This rapid survey of the progress of Free Church missions is a striking one. They began at so high a level that only to maintain them as received seemed a great enough strain upon our resources. But the business of expansion commenced at once. The year of the Disruption had not ended before fresh ground was broken at Nagpore, and ever since the work has gone on extending, so that our agencies are to be found in all parts of India, and have been multiplied six-fold. In Africa, too, from a few stations in Kaffraria, our missions have spread into Natal, and across the Kei, and into far Nyassaland. While altogether new fields have been opened on the Lebanon, in the New Hebrides, and in Arabia. The races thus reached are many. We are preaching the gospel to the Brahmins and aborigines of India, to the Mohammedans of Yemen, to the Druses of Syria, to the Papuans of the South Seas, and to the Kaffirs and Zulus of South and Central

Africa. It may be doubted whether, if the crisis of 1843 had not occurred, all these results would have followed.

To uphold an organisation so great, large means require to be provided, and it is gratifying to have to record that the expenditure has seldom, if ever, gone beyond the income. When Dr. Duff wrote to the Home Committee in 1833, suggesting that £10,000 a year should be regarded as the minimum sum to be raised for missions, it was held that the Indian sun had turned his head. The Committee aimed at £1200 a year. Now, great anxiety would be felt if our mission revenue from Scotland alone did not amount to more than £50,000 per annum.

This sketch would be incomplete without some reference to certain features in our missionary enterprise which make its history specially remarkable.

One of these features is the work which has been carried on among the women of heathendom. That work was not entirely overlooked by the two Societies which were formed in the east and west of Scotland before the Church as such began to move. But it was in 1837 that the Association of Ladies was established, which has continued to this day. Its originator may be said to have been Captain Jameson, an Indian officer, and a brother of the Sheriff of the same name, who was in his day Convener of the Continental Committee. Captain Jameson organised a meeting which was held in Edinburgh in the March of the year referred to. It was addressed by Dr. Candlish, and it seems to have immediately set itself to collect funds for service, because in the year following, a lady missionary—a Miss Reid—was sent out by it to Bombay. Miss Reid, and also another agent, who went out in 1841, died before the Disruption. But in 1843 the Society was represented in Calcutta by two ladies—Miss Laing, who began work in 1840, and Miss

Savile, whose departure from home was much nearer the date of the crisis, and who, before leaving, was taken bound to adhere to the Establishment whatever might happen. Miss Laing had collected around her a number of orphans, but when she joined the Free Church these were taken from her, along with the minutes of the mission and its other property, and she had to commence afresh. But she soon made a new start, and in Calcutta and elsewhere the work of the Society went on with a quickened pace.

This may be said with all the more emphasis, that the operations of the Society were not limited to what was done by agents sent out directly from Scotland. The wives of the missionaries were found to be everywhere more than ready to help, and the marvellous work which has been accomplished in Madras is due to the founding, in 1843, by Mrs. Braidwood, of the original "Day School" for caste girls, which has been the means of doing so great an amount of good. "The school," says Miss Rainy, who visited the place in 1881, "grew until in 1847 five of its pupils embraced Christianity, and the boarding-school commenced with them when they were thrown on the care of the mission. It was a great pleasure to me to see two of the five. Still greater was the pleasure of going from school to school, and seeing hundreds of little girls receiving a very thorough Christian education. In connection with our Free Church Madras Mission alone, there were close upon 2000 girls under instruction in day schools. . . . The girls are particularly fond of the Sabbath school, and this is an institution generally associated with our day schools throughout India."

After the Disruption the Society of course divided, and the Free Church section of it was carried on for many years by two Committees, one having its seat in Glasgow,

the other in Edinburgh. But these have now been united, and the combined Society maintains a paid secretary, and had an income in 1893–94 of more than £10,000 a year—a larger sum than was raised fifty years ago in support of the entire missionary operations of the Church.

What the ladies aim at in the fields which they occupy is explained by Miss Rainy in the volume issued by her after her return from India.

First, there is the establishment of boarding-schools for Christian girls.

Next, the opening of day schools for all who care to attend them.

Third, the providing of ladies to visit the zenanas.[1]

Fourth, the training and support of medical women to deal with the suffering females of India.

Fifth, the employment of Biblewomen.

And, lastly, the sending missionaries into the rural districts to evangelise the village women.

This is a magnificent programme, and there is great cause for satisfaction in knowing that it has been carried out to so large an extent. The ladies employ in India 40 European and Eurasian and 206 native (Christian) agents, and in Africa 19 Europeans and 87 natives. In India, again, there were in 1893–94, 5718, and in Africa 2951, receiving instruction in their schools. Several lady missionaries, too, are qualified medical practitioners, and quite a number are engaged continually in visiting the zenanas. Nor are the other missions of the Church altogether forgotten. One lady has actually gone to help in the work on Lake Nyassa,

[1] The plan of zenana education, now so generally adopted, was first proposed in 1840 by the Rev. Thomas Smith, and first started in Calcutta in 1855, under the auspices of the Rev. John Fordyce, who, with Mrs. Fordyce, was then in charge of the Free Church Girls' Boarding-School or Orphanage there.

and assistance of an incidental kind has been given in the New Hebrides and Arabia.

Another notable feature in the missions of the Free Church has been the establishment of institutions for educational and industrial purposes. Several of these are to be found alike in India and Africa. But the most famous of them all are the Christian College at Madras, and that of Lovedale in Kaffraria.

The Christian College is so far undenominational as to be governed by a Council in which all the evangelical Churches of this country are represented—the Established Churches of England and Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyans, and the Congregationalists; while on the teaching staff are men of quite as many ecclesiastical connections. The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyans actually contribute £300 a year each to the support of the institution, and the position occupied by it is necessarily a very commanding one. Its great success is due in a very large degree to its Principal, Dr. Miller, the ultimate control of all its affairs being in the hands of the Free Church Foreign Missions Committee. Practically the College is the last and highest outcome of the system inaugurated by Dr. Duff, and as such the reputation it has achieved is phenomenal.

Professor Lindsay, who visited India as a Deputy in 1888–89, and who on his return home submitted to the Assembly one of the ablest missionary reports ever written, gives the following account of what he saw in Madras:—

"College and School," says he, "occupy a magnificent range of buildings forming three sides of a square. On the fourth side, separated by a street, is the boarding-house for Christian students, and behind it, also separated by a street, is the boarding-house for Brahmin students. The huge pile

of buildings is occupied from floor to ceiling with classrooms which, large as they are, seem overcrowded, so great is the throng of students and scholars. The size of the place is impressive; the swarming of intellectual life is a sight that once seen cannot easily be forgotten; the affectionate regard which the students have for their professors is very manifest; the intimate personal acquaintance that the Principal seems to have of every student in the College and every pupil in the Upper School is marvellous; but what distinguishes the Christian College at Madras from other educational institutions of a similar kind visited was the atmosphere of spiritual life which seemed to pervade it. That was the striking, unmistakable thing which left the deepest impression upon us."

The institution includes a School and a College teaching up to the B.A. standard. When Dr. Lindsay visited it, he found the School divided into 21 classes with 34 teachers, while connected with the College were 10 European professors, 9 native assistants, and 18 pundits. In the higher department there were over 600 students, undergraduates of the University; and in the lower the number of scholars was close upon 1500.

What a change from the spectacle of July 13, 1830, when Dr. Duff met for the first time five Brahmin youths, all that had been persuaded to come to him for instruction in Calcutta.

The institution of Lovedale in South Africa is of a different sort. It was founded in 1841 by a remarkable man, the Rev. William Govan, who continued to superintend it till 1870, when Dr. James Stewart was placed at its head. Planted in the midst of a people who had no ambition for the "higher education," it has not aimed at producing such results as have been achieved in Madras. Teachers and preachers were needed, and provision was made for their

training, and trades were taught to as many as wished to learn them.

What kind of work has been done by this agency may be gathered from the report which was submitted in 1883 to the Government of the Cape by its Inspector-General.

"Lovedale," he says, "works on a grand scale. The great organising power of Dr. Stewart appears on every side. The staff is large and able, and the civilising effects of the whole institution is remarkably felt. It may have its defects, but the scheme at present is the most complete, the largest, and the most successful of its kind in the country, and the institution as a whole is probably the greatest educational establishment in South Africa. . . . Trades are successfully taught in a fair range of buildings; upwards of 300 pupils from all parts of South Africa receive the best education at present available; the boarding arrangements are on a large scale, and economically carried on; a number of young men in the upper department are under training for the work of teaching or the native ministry; and girls receive the most suitable kind of instruction that those of their class and race can receive."

But one other feature in our missionary enterprise remains to be referred to, namely, the extent to which medical agencies have been utilised.

The first appointment of a medical missionary was made in December 1855, when Dr. David H. Paterson, a son of the missionary of Kilmany, went out to Madras. He there represented not only the Free Church, but the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, which for some time paid half his salary. This department of the work there was entered upon in a very modest way, and its expansion at first was not very rapid. But as its value came to be more and more realised, agent

after agent was sent out to different parts of the field; and now it has come about that the Free Church has probably more medical missionaries working among the heathen than any other society in Britain. In India it has 16, of whom 3 are females and 4 are natives; in Africa it has 8; while in Arabia, Syria, and the New Hebrides it has 3—one in each. The ladies, especially, who have gone out to India holding medical diplomas from Colleges in Europe, have been of very peculiar blessing to their sex, the women of that country being often forced to endure unspeakable suffering through their objection to be attended by male practitioners.

This sketch has necessarily been very superficial, but in any case enough has been said to show the wisdom and energy with which the scheme has been conducted. Its first Convener, as has been seen, was Dr. Gordon. He was succeeded by Dr. James Buchanan, with whom Dr. Henderson was for some time associated. Then came Dr. Tweedie and (for a brief period) Dr. Hanna. In 1863, Dr. Duff was called to the chair, which he filled for two years along with Dr. Candlish, but which he afterwards occupied alone till 1878. From 1878 to 1881 Dr. Main was Convener. On his death, Colonel Young was invited to undertake the oversight of the work, and he was followed in 1886 by Professor Lindsay.

The changes in the secretaryship have been much less frequent. Mr. Henry Tod filled the office for the long period of nine-and-twenty years—from 1843 to 1872. For one year thereafter Mr. John Logan, W.S., undertook its duties. He was succeeded by Dr. Murray Mitchell, and he again, in 1879, by Dr. George Smith, the biographer of Duff and Carey. It should not, however, be forgotten that the assistant secretaryship was held for many years by Mr. Robert Young, whose acquaintance with the history of our

own and other missions has been abundantly shown in his useful works.

The Free Church may well look back with some satisfaction and thankfulness on an enterprise which was undertaken under very interesting and remarkable circumstances, and which has been carried on with an enthusiasm which cannot be said to have expended itself when so many of her students are offering themselves to go wherever they may be sent.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONVERSION OF ISRAEL

AS was to have been expected, the revived interest in religion which followed the passing of the Veto Act led to the awakening in the Church of a new concern for the conversion of Israel, and as doubts were felt as to where work for that end could be best begun, it was resolved, in 1839, to send forth a mission of inquiry.

The men selected for this expedition were possessed of singular qualifications for the task. Two of them were elderly—Dr. Black, a theological professor in Aberdeen; and Dr. Keith, minister of St. Cyrus, who had already achieved for himself some reputation as the author of a work on the Prophecies. The younger men were—Robert Murray M'Cheyne, who did not live to see the Disruption, but some of whose last days were given to preparation for it, and Dr. Andrew Bonar.

Dr. Bonar became the historiographer of the mission, and his *Narrative* continues to be one of the most delightful books of travels ever published.

During all the journey the condition of the Jews was investigated by the Deputation wherever any number of them were to be found, but the thoughts of everyone in this country were directed toward Palestine, and the hope was constantly cherished that a spot might be discovered in which ground might be broken there. A very singular providence,

however, led to the establishment of the Church's first mission in another part of the world altogether.

An accident—a fall from his camel — compelled Dr. Black to hasten homeward across the European continent, and it was thought desirable that he should be accompanied so far by Dr. Keith. But, at Pesth in Hungary, Dr. Keith himself became ill, and for some weeks he lay in a hotel there without anyone but strangers to care for him. The incident seemed an untoward one, but out of it came a series of most unexpected issues. It so happened that at the moment there was living in the city a Protestant princess, the Archduchess Dorothea, an earnest woman, who had been longing and praying for fresh light to be brought into the land she lived in. Hearing of the sick Scottish traveller, she visited him, and the upshot of that interview and of others which followed was that the Church of Scotland was induced to commence missionary operations for the Jews, not, as had been proposed, in the Holy Land, but in the east of Europe.

The first to leave Scotland in the interest of the conversion of Israel was Mr. Daniel Edward. In company with Mr. Hermann Philip, he set out from London on the 1st of May 1841, and, to begin with, settled in Jassy. Soon afterwards a larger band followed, consisting of Dr. Duncan, Dr. Robert Smith, and Mr. Allan. Their destination was Pesth, and "from one of the Danube steamers they came within sight of the hills of Hungary on the 21st of August."

A noteworthy blessing very soon attended the labours of the missionaries in Pesth. Among the English residents and among the Jews there was awakened a spirit of inquiry. Several striking conversions took place (it was now, for example, that the Saphir family was brought to Christ), and Dr. Smith mentions it as an interesting circumstance that in the Disruption Assembly the first business transacted after

the signing of the Deed of Demission was the reception of the Jewish Report, in which there was a record of this good news. "With this special movement of the Spirit," he says,[1] "the year 1843 was ushered in."

When the Disruption came, all the missionaries without exception joined the Free Church. These were now six in number, with three assistants. Three were in Pesth, Dr. Duncan, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Wingate, having associated with them two Jewish converts, Mr. A. S. T. Saphir and Mr. F. D. Neuhaus. One, Mr. Edward, was in Jassy, assisted by Mr. Philip. And two more, Mr. C. Schwartz and Mr. Allan, were under appointment, the one to Constantinople, the other to Beyrout.

It may also be added that at the same time a very large proportion of those who had been specially interesting themselves in Israel withdrew from the Establishment, and a division of the money in the mission exchequer might have seemed not inequitable. But the rule then obtained of keeping all that the law, when strictly interpreted, allowed, and so the one party got all the money, while the other got all the men. It so happened that the amount lying at the Committee's disposal—£3500—was exactly what was required to meet the year's expenditure, not one penny of which was made over to those for whose benefit it was raised. But the first collection taken in the Free Church was for the conversion of Israel, and it happily yielded £3400.

The intelligence supplied to the *Missionary Record* of the Free Church shows that the Disruption produced little effect on the work which was being carried on. In Pesth the interest continued, and the mission was prosecuted with an extraordinary amount of encouragement. Some changes, however, were made in the disposition of the staff. Dr.

[1] *Early Days of the Mission to the Jews in Pesth.* By Robert Smith, D.D.

Duncan was summoned home to take the Hebrew Chair in the New College, and Mr. Wingate was ordained. Dr. Wilson of Bombay, who visited the station on his way home, brought to Scotland with him two of the converts, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Edersheim, whose writings are now so well known, and Mr. Tomory, whose name will always be associated with Constantinople. Mr. Edward had been engaged in a mission of inquiry, but toward the end of 1843 he returned to Jassy and resumed work there. Mr. Schwartz, on the other hand, had been helping to lay the foundations of what has become a great institution in Constantinople, and Mr. Allan had joined Dr. Graham, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, in breaking ground at Damascus.

It is probable that the desire still lingered to do something for the Jews in Palestine, but if so, it was in the meantime extinguished by the report of Dr. Wilson. He had travelled through the Holy Land when returning from India, and was now prepared to assure the Church that there was no spot in it which could be recommended as suitable for a station. He added—and the fact is curious in view of what has taken place since—that it would be peculiarly unwise to attempt to begin work in Tiberias or Safed. Besides the recognised stations, it may be mentioned, help was at this time being also given, mainly through the Ladies' Association, toward the maintenance of schools among the Beni-Israel of Bombay and Corfu.

For several years the mission at Pesth was allowed to go on without interruption from without; and in Assembly after Assembly reports were submitted telling of the blessing which continued to rest upon it. But it was located in a land in which the principles of civil and religious liberty have not always been understood, and during these revolutionary years, when all Europe was disturbed, the position of

the missionaries became more and more precarious. At the beginning of 1849 a crisis came, and Messrs. Smith and Wingate were obliged to leave the city and seek refuge elsewhere. Before the year ended, indeed, the sky cleared, and they were allowed to return. But less than two years later the clouds gathered again. In January 1852 the Austrian Government issued a decree banishing the missionaries, and, so far as they were concerned, the work for a time ceased.

Strange to say, however, the schools which had been established were not meddled with, nor the resident converts, and through their means the light was kept burning in a very remarkable way. Under the superintendence of the elder Saphir, whose son Adolph became a distinguished minister of the English Presbyterian Church, the schools flourished, and when, in 1862, they were moved into better premises than they had been occupying, they were reported to be attended by 337 children, 153 of them being of Jewish parentage.

Some time previous to that date the repressive policy of the Austrians had been relaxed, and a missionary was sent —Mr. Van Andel—who preached to a German congregation, and established on a limited scale a system of colportage. It was not, however, till the Assembly of 1863 that the Convener of the Committee—Dr. Moody Stuart—was able to announce that the station would again be fully occupied, and that Mr. Kœnig was at once to proceed to Pesth from Constantinople. In 1864 the further report was made that Mr. Kœnig was on the spot, that he had been joined by the Rev. Andrew Moody, who was conducting an English service, and that the school was now attended by 238 Jewish children.

Ever since, the work has continued to prosper. Mr. Kœnig, after labouring for a number of years, was compelled

by the state of his health to retire, but his place has been admirably filled by Mr. Moody, who, with the help of a body of teachers, some of whom have spent the better part of their lives in the service of the mission, has carried on, with great vigour and success, a very varied system of operations.

In the meantime, Mr. Edward, who has already been spoken of as our very first missionary, had also been experiencing some of the vicissitudes arising out of the unsettled state of Europe. The revolutions of 1848 resulted for a time in the repression of religious liberty in various countries, and he was compelled to leave Jassy as Dr. Smith and Mr. Wingate had been obliged to leave Pesth. At first he sought refuge in Lemberg, but from that town he was also driven in 1851. Finally, however, he settled in Breslau, and with that place his name will now always be connected. Here he established a congregation by which much good has been done, but his work among the Jews will be specially remembered in relation to particular conversions. One was that of Isaac Pick, a remarkable man, one of whose family is at the head of the mission female school in Constantinople; and another was that of Hermann Warszawiack, who has been doing a great work in the city of New York. Mr. Edward has been spared to tell of a half-century spent in the service of Christ for Israel.

Another important station, early occupied by the Church, was Constantinople. Incidental circumstances led to its being entered. Mr. Allan, when on his way to Syria, visited the city, and found that certain work which had been hopefully begun there by Mr. Schwartz would have to be abandoned if he did not take it up. Mr. Schwartz was an agent of the London Society, and had been ordered to proceed to Hebron. If he acted on that direction, a school which had been opened with promising prospects would require to

be shut up; and, at the earnest request of the American missionaries on the spot, Mr. Allan was persuaded to remain, until at least the home authorities could be consulted about the situation. The upshot was that Mr. Schwartz severed his connection with the London Society, and consented to carry on the work he had commenced, under the supervision of the Church of Scotland.

The mission thus established has been vigorously maintained, and has proved most fruitful. Mr. Schwartz was succeeded by Mr. Kœnig, Dr. Thomson (who accepted the post of Secretary to the Bible Society), and Mr. Tomory. A great school has for many years been carried on at Galata, under male and female teachers of ability. And, besides other agencies, a medical department has been supported, first under Dr. Rosenberg and later under Dr. Hanington, which has proved of the greatest value and advantage.

When the new and extensive mission premises were opened in 1873, in the presence of the British Ambassador, it was stated that seventy Jews, most of them young men, had been baptized since the work began. But since then the number received into the Church has been very much greater.

The Ladies' Associations—especially those of Glasgow and Edinburgh — have been peculiarly helpful in connection with Constantinople. The female teachers in the institution have been appointed by them, and they have been unusually fortunate in securing the services of such competent women as Miss Potter, Miss Zoller, and Miss Pick.

Reference has been made more than once to Mr. Schwartz. On his reception by the Free Church he was ordained and sent, in 1844, to Berlin, which was said to contain 8000 Jews accessible to Christian influences. His success there was considerable, and the station might have become per-

manent, if it had not been for the troubles of 1848. These interrupted the work, and before it could be resumed a new door opened which it was thought better to enter. The field which was thought more hopeful was Amsterdam. It contained far more resident Jews than Berlin, but they were found to be of a much less peaceable class, and very soon events occurred which drew all eyes to Holland. The opposition offered to Mr. Schwartz was decided from the first, but he persevered, and for ten years, with the help of Dr. Robert Smith and others, a system of aggressive work was carried on through the press and by the pulpit, which awakened a widespread interest throughout the whole country. The enmity of the Jews was not lessened on this account. On the contrary, it grew ever more bitter, until one day the assassination of Mr. Schwartz was attempted, and he was carried out of the pulpit bleeding from a dagger wound.

Notwithstanding this opposition—and perhaps partly on account of it—the cause called forth the sympathy of many friends. One lady made over to the mission a large building along with £2000 to be used in its interest. Men of mark, like Da Costa and Capadose, lent it their active assistance. And numerous associations were formed to aid it in promoting the objects it aimed at. But unfortunately the men who had done most for the enterprise were obliged or saw it their duty to retire from the field. Dr. Smith's health gave way, and he was compelled to return home; and Mr. Schwartz was induced to accept a call to a church in London.

The work was not then altogether abandoned. First Mr. Theodore Meyer was sent to continue it, then Mr. Van Andel, and finally, after an interval, Dr. Fürst. But the tide had ceased to flow as it had done before the burden of seeking for the conversion of Israel was undertaken with

greater earnestness by the Christian residents, and although the building presented by Madame Zeelt still remains in possession of the Free Church, and continues to be used for religious purposes, the station at Amsterdam is no longer occupied as one of the outposts of the Jewish Committee.

Two other stations in Europe have yet to be named—those, that is, of Strasburg and Prague. In the latter town, the capital of Bohemia, there are very many Jews, but they are peculiarly inaccessible, and it has not been found possible to do much for their evangelisation. A mission was begun there in 1864 by the Rev. Andrew Moody, who was succeeded in 1878 by the Rev. James Pirie. But the encouragement to continue the work was never very great, and a few years ago it was resolved to discontinue it. At the same time the incidental benefits conferred by the mission have been very considerable. Kindly relations have been established with the Protestants of the country, many of the pastors have been enabled to spend some time in Scotland as students, and their interest in the Jews has been quickened by what they have seen and heard here. Mr. Pirie has remained in Pesth, though not as a missionary, and he continues to maintain in connection with the Continental Committee the English service, of which he has for a long time had the charge. Through him communications have been kept up with the native Churches, and the hope is cherished that a door of access may yet be opened through which the many children of Abraham resident in Bohemia may be reached with the gospel.

In Strasburg the experience of the Church has been still more disappointing. Dr. Fürst was appointed to the station in 1878, and in the conduct of an English service he was decidedly successful; but little result followed the efforts made to reach the Jews either of the city or of the province

of Alsace, and the mission was given up just ten years after it had been established.

The want of success in these fields did not lessen the interest of the Church in the work of the conversion of Israel. A constant outlook was kept up in the hope that some new locality would be discovered in which the gospel might be preached to the Jews more hopefully, and by and by a forward movement was undertaken in an unexpected direction.

When Dr. Hood Wilson, who was at the time Convener of the Jewish Committee, visited Palestine in 1883, he became possessed with an earnest desire to see realised the dream of 1839 in the establishment of a mission to the Jews in their own land. His idea was at once and enthusiastically taken up by the Church at home. A new deputation, headed by Dr. Wells of Glasgow, was sent out to ascertain where ground might be broken most hopefully, and, on its recommendation, it was resolved to establish a station on the Sea of Galilee at Tiberias. The population of that town was ascertained to be large, and to include at least 3000 Jews. No other Protestant agency of any sort existed on the Lake, and the need for a European doctor was manifest. The locality, besides, was said to be not unhealthy, although the heat in the heart of summer might compel the missionaries to seek relief for a time at a higher altitude.

The mission accordingly became a reality; Dr. D. W. Torrance was appointed the first missionary in June 1884, and he reached his destination in January 1885. After spending some time in Nazareth studying Arabic, and benefiting otherwise by the experience of Dr. Vartan, he settled down in his own hired house at Tiberias, and began his beneficent labours. For a time he had to encounter the

more or less open hostility of the Turkish authorities; but that was overcome, and such palpable relief has been brought to many in town and country that the respect has been gained of all classes in the community.

Later on, Dr. Torrance was joined by Miss Fenton, who opened a school in Tiberias which has been encouragingly attended, and by the Rev. W. Ewing, who came out from home as an ordained missionary. Both Mr. Ewing and Miss Fenton have since returned home, but their places have been filled — the former by the Rev. John Soutar, whose salary is generously provided by the United Presbyterian Church, the latter by Mrs. Thomson. Houses have been built for the missionaries, and a hospital provided, several beds in which have been endowed, and which has proved an unspeakable blessing to many who might otherwise have been but indifferently cared for.

Soon after the occupation of Tiberias a branch station was opened at Safed, which has been under the superintendence of Mr. Christie, and here, too, a medical department has been maintained. The station is an important one on various accounts. Here there are many more Jews than on the shores of the Lake, and its elevated position makes it valuable as a health resort. But the field is also held by the London Society, and it is important so to adjust the work of each that the two Christian agencies shall conspire instead of conflicting.

The history of the Jewish Mission, then, is one of which the Church has no cause to be ashamed. In its earliest station — that of Pesth — a great work is proceeding, especially among the young, an additional storey having just been placed on the institution to provide the needful accommodation for the multitude of scholars who throng to it. Very much the same thing may be said of Con-

stantinople. The venerable Mr. Edward still holds hopefully the fort in Breslau, and although it has been judged desirable to withdraw in the meantime from Berlin and Amsterdam, Strasburg and Prague, we are receiving assurances that a signal blessing is resting on the newer stations of Safed and Tiberias. It is a fact which has been realised in the past: "They shall prosper that love thee."

The first Convener of the Jewish Committee was Dr. Keith, who, except for one twelvemonth, when the chair was filled by Dr. Duncan, held the office for four years. In 1847, Dr. Keith was succeeded by Dr. Moody Stuart, who held the post (with two interregnums, from 1854 to 1857, when Principal Brown was Convener, and from 1858 to 1860, when the scheme was under the charge of Professor Smeaton) up to 1889. More than with anyone else the enterprise is associated with him. His yearly addresses at the Assembly were looked forward to with extraordinary interest, and were always listened to with marked attention. During the last five years of the period indicated, the state of his health did not allow of his bearing all the burdens of the office, and his responsibilities were shared by Dr. Hood Wilson, who from 1889 to 1891 was called to preside over the mission alone. In 1890, Dr. Wilson retired, and was succeeded by Dr. Wells of Glasgow. The Secretaries have been—Mr. J. G. Wood, W.S., between 1843 and 1860; Rev. Walter Wood of Elie up to 1866; Mr. Brown Douglas, advocate, to 1883; the Rev. William Affleck of Auchtermuchty to 1892; and the Rev. Dr. Milne Rae, who holds the office at present.

This scheme, like that for Foreign Missions, has been greatly helped by Associations of Ladies. The Edinburgh branch was established in 1840, and that for Glasgow probably quite as early. In several of the provincial towns, also, Committees were formed. Different fields have engaged

the special attention of different societies,—Glasgow, for instance, caring for Palestine; Edinburgh giving its support to Constantinople; and Paisley, to Buda-Pest. It is possible that in time all the associations may be amalgamated. One lady, it may be allowed to say here, has in a manner given her life to this cause. For nearly forty years Mrs. Brown Douglas has acted as the Treasurer of the Edinburgh Ladies, and has laboured for the good of Israel incessantly.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE COLONIES

"THE great national duty of extending our anxious care to the vast multitudes who, from necessity or choice, yearly go forth from our shores, is not only founded upon the general principles of our holy faith contained in the New Testament, but is confirmed and illustrated by a national example [that of the Jews] which seems to have obtained the stamp of Divine approbation."

Such were some of the words used in the Report on Colonial Churches which was submitted to the first General Assembly of the Free Church; and Dr. Welsh, who gave in the report, proceeded to tell of what had been done in the past for those who had left Scotland to find new homes in other parts of the world. The wants of these emigrants had not been altogether overlooked. The Church in earlier days had followed its children into Ulster and Holland, and had taken its share in the unhappy expedition to the Isthmus of Darien. But from the time of the Union till 1825 the duty of caring for the spiritual necessities of the Colonies had been very much lost sight of, and if their condition came to be thought of at last, it was owing to the same religious revival which was stirring the country and issuing in missions to the Jews and to the heathen.

The first to move in the matter, as has been already indicated, was Dr. Burns of Paisley. He brought the subject

under the notice of his own Synod, that of Glasgow, and the commercial relations sustained by that city to the Colonies probably helped to secure for his proposals a readier acceptance than they might have met with elsewhere. In any case, an Association was formed of which he became the Secretary, and by its means much good work was done before the Church, as such, undertook any responsibility connected with it.

In 1832 a more decided step was taken. The General Assembly gave its formal sanction to the formation into Presbyteries and Synod in connection with the Home Church of such congregations abroad as were prepared to accept the Presbyterian system. Later on—in 1836—the Church went further. An express "Colonial Committee" was appointed by the Assembly, and the care of the Colonies was adopted as one of the recognised "schemes" of the Church. At first the sphere of this Committee was limited to the oversight of the Colonies pure and simple, but afterwards it was enlarged so as to include all who had gone abroad wherever they might have happened to settle, and this arrangement continued till 1868, when the interests of the European Continent came to be so large and pressing as to require the institution of a separate Committee.

Before 1843 the interest shown in our expatriated fellow-countrymen was considerable. The greatest amount of work was done by the Church in Canada, in which (at Kingston) even a University was established, with Dr. Liddell of Lady Glenorchy's as Principal; but from all parts of the world came appeals for help in the institution of Presbyterian congregations, and between 1837 and 1842 so many as 49 ministers and missionaries and 6 teachers had been sent out to different stations in the British Colonies. Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Madeira, Jamaica, and other places, had all had more or less attention given to them, while

appeals had been received from Dr. Stewart (afterwards of Leghorn), Dr. Julius Wood, and Mr. (afterwards Sheriff) Jameson, on behalf of Malta, Gibraltar, Constantinople, and quite a number of towns on the Continent of Europe.

An enterprise, therefore, of some magnitude had to be faced when the Disruption took place, and its importance was recognised by the appointment in the first Free Church General Assembly of an unusually large and influential Committee, with Dr. Welsh at its head.

One of the very first pieces of business submitted to this Committee was that of the appointment of a minister and teacher to take part in the expedition which it was proposed to undertake with a view to the founding of a colony in New Zealand. The leaders in the expedition were Free Churchmen, and their plan was to carry the principles of their Church along with them. For that purpose they announced to the Committee, on the 6th of June 1843, that they had set apart £25,000 to be a fund for the erection of places of worship and the maintenance of ordinances. As it turned out, it was not found possible to carry into effect the ideas of these remarkable emigrants at once, but Mr. Burns, then of Monkton, was immediately nominated to the charge, and two years later he was actually transferred to Otago, where, as Dr. Burns, he afterwards established the powerful congregation of Dunedin.

For a time the chief attention of the Church continued to be given to Canada. In July 1844 things came to a crisis there. So many Presbyterian congregations had been formed in the country that they had been organised into a Synod, and the question became pressing of whether this Synod was to remain, or not, in connection with the Established Church. The point was formally discussed at the annual meeting in that year, with the result that 39 ministers voted

for retaining things as they were, while 21 were in favour of connecting themselves with the Free Church. In the Lower Provinces the division was different. Two-thirds of the ministers there decided to relinquish their connection with the Establishment and to form themselves into an independent body, holding fellowship with the Free Church and with all similar Churches holding its principles.

These events necessarily quickened the home interest in Canada, and as there was good reason to believe that the people to a larger extent than their pastors sympathised with the evangelical movement in Scotland, it was resolved to send out from time to time such of the leading men from the Church as could be induced to face the journey. Dr. Candlish and Dr. Buchanan were asked to go, but they did not see their way to accept the invitation; but during the next two or three years Canada was visited, at the Committee's request, by Dr. Burns and Mr. M'Naughton of Paisley, by Dr. Somerville and Mr. Arnot of Glasgow, by Dr. Bonar of Larbert, and by Dr. Begg. The results were very satisfactory. A great impulse was given to the cause of religion in all the Provinces, and while important congregations were formed in Montreal, Quebec, and elsewhere, two theological Colleges were founded, in Halifax and Toronto, to the latter of which Dr. Burns of Paisley allowed himself to be appointed.

In the Assembly of 1846, Dr. Begg gave a long and interesting account of his tour, and in concluding said that he had found everywhere a yearning affection among the colonists toward their native land, and especially toward the Free Church. "They do not regard the Establishment of Scotland," he said, "as the Church of their fathers, and, with the exception of a handful of people in some of the principal towns, the Establishment may be said to have little footing on the other side of the Atlantic." That the ministers, in so

large a proportion, elected to remain in connection with the Established Church, was explained by the fact that in the earlier days of the mission it was found exceedingly difficult to get the best men to go to the Colonies, and that a number were sent out who had failed to find places at home.

For a considerable time after the Disruption no special news came from Australia. What had happened in Scotland was known there in 1843, but no immediate step was taken in consequence. In 1844, however, a resolution was adopted by the Synod expressing a general approval of the principles of the Free Church, but agreeing to remain in communion with both Churches. This was not satisfactory to all, and experience did not reconcile those who objected to it to the arrangement. A new departure, therefore, took place in 1846. On the 10th of October in that year, three ministers—Messrs. M'Intyre, Tait, and Stuart—retired, after protest, from the Court of which they had been members, and formed themselves, along with two elders, into "The Synod of Eastern Australia." These men were subsequently joined by others, and from this small beginning sprang the important Church which was afterwards established in the Colony.

The interest excited at home by these events was necessarily great, and earnest efforts were made to do for Australia what had been done with such good results in Canada. Mr. M'Naughton of Paisley was invited to visit the Colony, and he agreed to do so. But the arrangement for some reason or another fell through. Other capable men, however, were found ready to proceed to the Antipodes; and in the Assembly of 1851 the Convener of the Committee was able to submit this report: "In 1844 there were only five adhering ministers in the whole of the vast continent of Australia. This year there are six in New South Wales, five in Victoria, two in Australia Felix, and two in Van Diemen's Land, with three

students and one licentiate of the Presbytery of Sydney. Others are on their way to join them, and there is some reason to hope that a little body of six superior and devoted young men may, ere this year closes, go together to that distant and destitute land. In 1845 there were no Presbyterian churches in New Zealand. There is now one in Otago, one in Nelson, and one in Auckland."

But Canada and Australia were not the only regions to which the Free Church was able at the same time to send help. It had stations also at Bermuda, Trinidad, and Antigua in the West Indies; at Calcutta, Agra, and Bombay in India; and at Malta and Gibraltar, Penang and Natal.

This chapter does not profess to give a history of the Colonial Churches. Its object is simply to show what part the Free Church took in the founding of them, and most truly may it be said that in no connection so much as in this was the benefit of the Disruption seen. Previously to 1843 a comparatively languid interest was taken in the various provinces of Greater Britain, and no man could be persuaded to go to any of them who could find a living at home. The upheaval which then took place—the setting of men loose from the restraints of an Establishment—disposed not a few to look abroad, and by and by it came to be no uncommon thing for ministers of recognised standing and ability to accept calls from the Colonies. Among these, for example, were Dr. Burns and Dr. Topp, who went to Canada; Dr. M'Leod, who went to the Lower Provinces; and Dr. Cairns of Cupar, Dr. Andrew Cameron, and Dr. Campbell of Melrose, who went to Victoria.

In course of time, too, a great change came over the Colonies themselves. The overcrowding at home moved an increasing number of persons to seek homes in other lands, and the discovery of gold drew multitudes especially to

Australia. With the growth of the population the churches there expanded, becoming to a large extent self-supporting, so far as money was concerned, and by means of Colleges of their own providing ministers for themselves. It came to be seen, also, that it was needless to perpetuate the divisions which still existed in Scotland, and unions were consummated which have had the happiest results. And now in all our greater Colonies are large and influential bodies, each with a General Assembly of its own.

Toward the accomplishment of all this, no Presbyterian Church has done so much as the Free Church. The man who presided over its counsels during what we may call the critical period of Colonial history was Dr. John Bonar, and the minute submitted to the Assembly on the occasion of his death was a very significant one. "The period," it said [the period of his Convenership, extending from 1846 to 1863], "has been signalised by a spirit of emigration unparalleled in the country's history, excited partly by the crowding of the population at home, and partly by the discovery of numerous goldfields. The Colonies, therefore, have rapidly acquired a present importance, and a future prospect of no ordinary magnitude. During that time there have been upwards of three hundred carefully selected missionaries sent by the Free Church to Colonial stations. . . . It may be confidently asserted that no other Presbyterian Church has made exertions that can at all be compared with these for meeting the spiritual exigencies of the nations of our Colonial empire."

Hitherto reference has been made chiefly to Canada and Australia, but of more recent years the attention of the Church has been turned also in a marked way toward Africa. In Cape Town it has been long represented, and also in several other towns on the Coast. But it has not confined

itself to these more settled regions. It has followed the streams of emigration into the interior, and has provided ordinances in the Diamond Fields and elsewhere. Belize in Central America is likewise a station which it has fostered, and strong positions are maintained by it in Malta and Gibraltar.

It has been said that the first Convener of the Committee was Dr. Welsh. He was, however, soon joined by the Rev. John Sym of the New Greyfriars, on whom the burden of the work almost immediately fell. Mr. Sym was succeeded in 1845 by Dr. James Buchanan, but in a year afterwards he gave way to Dr. John Bonar, who filled the office for about eighteen years. In 1864, Mr. Lewis Irving of Falkirk and Principal Lumsden were appointed Joint-Conveners, and they continued to act till 1868, when they gave way to Dr. Adam. Dr. Adam, again, retired in favour of the Rev. R. G. Balfour, who occupied the chair for eight years. On his resignation, in 1882, Dr. Burns of Kirkliston succeeded to the office, and he has been followed since by Dr. Boog Watson and Dr. R. S. Duff. In connection with the carrying on of the work, the duties of the Secretary have been important, and his post has been filled by a succession of very competent men. The Church is under special obligations to Mr. James Balfour, W.S., who was the very first Secretary of the Committee, from 1843 to 1849, and who, after the office had been filled for four years by the Rev. John Jaffray, resumed his place at that table in 1853, and continued to serve till 1863. Then occurred an interregnum for a year, which was ended by the appointment of the Rev. George Divorty. After him, in 1870, came the Rev. Peter Hope. He was succeeded in 1879 by the Rev. J. Grant Mackintosh, and he again, in 1892, by the Rev. G. Milne Rae, D.D.

The important services rendered by this scheme to the Church have not, perhaps, been sufficiently appreciated. Under the guidance of able directors, it has done an amount of work for which it ought to get a great deal more credit than it has received. It has often been justly said that no Presbyterian Church is better known on the Continent of Europe than the Free Church. It may be said with equal confidence that no other Church of that order has had the same measure of influence in moulding the great communities which now flourish in Canada and Australasia. We have in no connection greater cause to look back with satisfaction on our fifty years' history than on the records of our Colonial enterprise.[1]

[1] The next Chalmers Lecturer is to be the Rev. R. G. Balfour, B.D. He is to take up "The Colonies" as his special subject.

CHAPTER XIII

ON THE CONTINENT

IT was in 1840 that a Sub-Committee of the Colonial Committee was appointed to care especially for the Continent of Europe. This appears to have been the result of a visit paid to the Mediterranean by a minister of the Church, and who reported the presence of Presbyterians in considerable numbers in several accessible localities. The stations to which attention was first given were those of Malta, Gibraltar, and Leghorn, and when the Disruption came, the congregations in all these three places joined the Free Church.

Leghorn enjoys a peculiar distinction, in that there ground was first broken on the Continent proper. The work may be said to have been begun by Dr. John (Rabbi) Duncan, who, in the winter of 1842, was compelled by the state of his health to leave Pesth and seek shelter in a warmer climate. He then came to Italy, and under his eye a congregation grew up in Leghorn, which ultimately called as its minister Dr. Robert Stewart of Erskine. Dr. Stewart was settled in 1845, a church built through his exertions was opened in 1849, and there was then established in the country an agency whose influence became incalculable in the interest of evangelical religion.

Dr. Stewart did not think of himself as called to minister merely to a few Presbyterians in a foreign country. He

assumed from the first the position of a missionary to Italy. At the outset he could do little more than promote quietly the circulation of the Scriptures, but as the cause of liberty progressed, his scheme of operations extended, and he grew to be known as the most influential friend of the Waldenses. Through them the gospel has been carried into every considerable town in the country, and what they have been enabled to do has been largely by the help of Dr. Stewart. By him, for example, were raised the funds—£6000 in one case, and £14,000 in the other—by means of which a theological College was established in Florence, and a church in Rome. He has also left a permanent memorial of himself in the shape of a Commentary on the Gospels in Italian.

"I have no parchment to show to you," said Signor Prochet in addressing the Free Church Assembly of 1874, "with the name of Dr. Stewart on it as a citizen of the Waldensian Alps. But if you ever come to these valleys, I will show you twenty thousand living hearts upon which his name is written in characters that can never be blotted out."

Experience had deeply impressed Dr. Stewart with a sense of the importance of occupying in Italy other posts besides Leghorn, and in 1848 he wrote earnestly pressing for the settlement of a minister in Florence. This desire was happily complied with, and on the 26th of September 1849 the station was formally opened by the Rev. R. M. Hanna. Mr. Hanna died in 1856, and was succeeded in 1857 by Dr. John R. M'Dougall, who was enabled to do for the country of his adoption a service similar to that rendered to it by Dr. Stewart. For the evangelisation of Italy a number of agencies were brought into existence, and among others that of the Chiesa Libera, the leading spirit in which was the famous ex-Monk Gavazzi. This body Dr. M'Dougall took by the hand, and it is the simple truth to say that but

for him it would never have attained to the dimensions it has reached.

The Free Church in Florence has always held an important position. It occupies a palace—an old historic building in which, among others, Sir Walter Scott and Napoleon once lived. It was bought in 1860 for less than £3000, and is now worth double that sum. But for an increase in the taxation, the income from the rents received would make the congregation self-supporting. As Florence stands, in a manner, at the gate of Italy, there is a constant stream of travellers passing through it, and the minister is apt to become discouraged when he sees no fruit of his labours, until, says Dr. M'Dougall (and the remark applies more or less to all our stations), "he makes the discovery that he is not so much the minister of a Florence church, as he is like the man who, leaning over the Carrais Bridge, scatters seeds. The river carries them out to the sea, and the ocean casts them up on every shore, so that, wherever he travels or has correspondence, he finds that some of them have taken root."

Although these were the two first of our Italian stations, there was another place to which the eyes of the home Church were directed earlier than at least to the occupation of Florence. This was Rome. In 1846, Dr. Clason was sent thither to see if there was an opening in the city for evangelical work, and he reported so favourably that a resolution was come to to send a minister in the succeeding winter. For some reason, however, that resolution was not carried into effect, and it was not till 1861–62 that the new field was really entered. During several seasons thereafter services were conducted by relays of ministers, but in 1864, Dr. James Lewis, formerly of Leith, undertook the whole work, and for eight successive winters, until 1872, when he

died, he continued to fill the charge with peculiar acceptability. After his death the old system was revived of sending a succession of men from home, and while it lasted, ministers of the Established and U.P. Churches were associated with those of the Free Church in the conduct of the services. But, in 1881, Dr. Gordon Gray was translated from Naples, and the station at Rome came to be placed again under one settled pastor.

In the time of Dr. Lewis a church had been built outside the gate, but when the establishment of a kingdom of Italy brought greater freedom, a new structure, containing church and manse, etc., was raised in a more convenient situation, at the cost of £13,500.

Here, too, it may be said, the minister of the Free Church does not confine his attentions to the foreign visitors. He acts as agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland, and under his care is a high-class school for girls, in which the young people of the better class of Roman families receive a thoroughly Christian education.

The station at Genoa was commenced in 1853, when the Rev. David Kay began to minister to a congregation largely composed of Scotch engineers and their families. He was succeeded in 1862 by Mr. Collie, and he again in 1867 by Mr. A. Van Millingen. Mr. Van Millingen remained for but one year, and in 1869 the charge was undertaken by the Rev. Donald Miller, whose services as a Continental minister came to be notable in many ways. By his exertions a handsome building was erected, containing a church and manse ; but his strength was expended not so much in that direction as in the maintenance of a Mission to Sailors, large numbers of whom were continually resorting to the port. First, an old hulk was purchased and converted into a "Bethel," a missionary and colporteur being engaged to visit

the ships. Next, when the hulk was condemned as unsafe, a new floating institute was erected, with rooms for the agents, and a chapel capable of holding one hundred men; a steam launch being at the same time provided to bring the congregation on board. Finally, this last Bethel gave way to a Sailors' Rest on shore, which has been fitted out in the most perfect way for the ends which it is intended to serve. The attendance on the services held in this connection has averaged 10,000 a year.

Mr. Miller's interest, it must be added, has not been confined to Genoa. He has given effective help to the Waldenses, and as Clerk of the Presbytery of Italy, his services, in organisation, have been most valuable.

It was largely owing to the appeals of Dr. Stewart that Florence and Rome were occupied. His hand was still more directly concerned in the occupation of Naples. One of his assistants at Leghorn had been the Rev. A. F. Buscarlet. Mr. Buscarlet, though educated in Edinburgh at the New College, was a Swiss by birth, and well acquainted with French and Italian. Him Dr. Stewart sent, in 1861, to see what opening for work there was at Naples. His reception, to begin with, was not encouraging; but he persevered, and by and by he was enabled to gather a congregation, to build (at the cost of £10,000) church, manse, and mission premises, and to establish schools (among others the Mackean Bentinck Institute, which Mr. Buscarlet himself speaks of as "the finest institution of the kind in Italy") which have been of the greatest benefit to the rising generation of the country. In connection with this station, also, there has been carried on a good work among the sailors. The floating Bethel which could not be used in Genoa was brought to Naples, and there it is the centre of active missionary operations.

After Italy, the country which has received most attention

from the Free Church has been Switzerland. The first place to be occupied there was Montreux. This was due to the residence in the neighbourhood of three excellent ladies, the Misses Harley from Glasgow. For three years—from 1864 to 1867—a weekly Bible reading meeting was held in their house, and a circle of good people was thus gathered around them. Some of these came to wish for ordinances of a fuller kind; and as about the same time (1867) Dr. Thomson of Paisley had conceived the idea of seeking to send more men to preach on the Continent, an arrangement was reached whereby Mr. Thomson of Salton was commissioned to spend a winter in Montreux. The services thus commenced were continued from year to year, different men in succession undertaking the work. In 1872 a church, costing about £2500, was opened by Dr. Horatius Bonar; and in 1891 the Rev. William Milne, late of Calcutta, was settled as the regular pastor.

In 1866 ground was broken in Lausanne, when an attempt was made to collect a congregation by means of occasional supply. But the experiment did not prove successful, and, after two years, the services were discontinued. They were resumed, however, in 1874 by Mr. Buscarlet of Naples, who was persuaded to move into this new field. Results have shown that it was a wise step which was then taken. Lausanne is full of schools, to which a large number of young people from this country are sent. To these Mr. Buscarlet gave devoted attention, and after a number of years he was able to report the completion of a beautiful church (costing £3400), the gathering into it of an excellent congregation, the formation of a Bible class with an attendance of nearly one hundred, and the admission to the Lord's Table of no fewer than 130 young people.

The summer stations of Lucerne and Interlaken owe

their institution to Principal Brown of Aberdeen. He spent some time in Switzerland in 1867, and while there he was impressed by the importance of providing evangelical ordinances for the numerous travellers passing through the country. With the help of a local canon, he persuaded the municipal authorities of Lucerne to grant the use of a Roman Catholic church, the Maria Hilf, for Presbyterian services, and, aided by Sir William Mackinnon, he was equally successful in securing in Interlaken, for the same ends, the Sacristy of the Schloss. The grant of the Maria Hilf was, after a great many years, withdrawn, and our services have since been conducted in a school; but both at Lucerne and Interlaken the stations have flourished, and year after year fresh men are encouraged by the large audiences which gather to hear the gospel in them.

Other two stations were commenced in 1881, at the suggestion of Mr. Lennox Kennedy of New York, who gave £1000 for the purpose of opening up new fields. They are at Pontresina and St. Moritz in the Upper Engadine, and their establishment has been followed by very satisfactory results. In general they have been supplied by Dr. Gordon Gray, who has gone thither at the conclusion of the Roman season.

It has been the aim of the Church to occupy as many places as possible, and tentative services have, in consequence, been held in quite a number of localities. In some of these the encouragement offered has not been such as to warrant the establishment of regular stations; in others, the experiment may be said to be still going on. The places thus entered in Switzerland have been Geneva, Grindelwald, Zermatt, and Chamounix.

The interest taken in France has not been less than that which has been manifested in Italy and Switzerland. Paris was not touched because of the understanding come to that

the Scottish Churches were to respect each other's operations. The Established Church had entered Paris, and therefore the Free Church passed it by—which seems almost a pity, for in so large a city there was little risk of collision, and the one cause might have helped the other.

The station of Pau, in the Pyrenees, was begun by the Rev. James Johnston, formerly of China, and the Rev. George Brown, both of whom had made the place a health resort in 1856. Mr. Brown was ordained to the charge in 1858, and under his care it has prospered—a new and handsome church being built at the cost of £1300 in 1860. Mr. Brown at a still earlier period—in the winter of 1854–55—may be said also to have been at the beginning of our work in Cannes. At that time he held, at the request of some of the visitors, services in a private house, and thus suggested the idea which was carried out later. Happily for this part of the Riviera, it had attracted to it several Free Church people of eminence,—among others, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Kintore, and Lady Emma M'Neill,—and through their influence a regular supply of ministers was secured from Scotland. This arrangement continued till 1885, when Mr. Minto was settled as the permanent minister; and now, with a manse and church of its own, the station is established on a basis which promises to make it a lasting means of blessing. With yet another station Mr. Brown has been intimately identified —that of Biarritz, on the Bay of Biscay. It is a winter resort, and with a year's intermission it has been supplied by men from home since 1881.

Nice was sanctioned as a charge in 1856, when the Rev. James Smith, formerly of Greenock, became its minister. He was succeeded by the Rev. A. Burn Murdoch, to whom more than to any other the Church is indebted for giving stability to the work. Through his exertions a church and

manse were provided, which are still in occupation by the minister in charge. After the death of Mr. Burn Murdoch, the station at Nice was for a number of years under the care of the well-known Indian missionary, Dr. Murray Mitchell.

Another of the Riviera charges is Mentone, in which services have been held since 1868. At first these were of the occasional kind; but, after the earthquake in 1887, the Rev. J. E. Somerville was sent in successive seasons to the place, and such a measure of success followed his labours that he was urged to remain in permanence. That he agreed to do; and under his care the station has prospered greatly. Mentone, as is well known, was a favourite resort of Mr. Spurgeon. He and Mr. Somerville became warm friends, and it was with his hearty approbation that steps were taken for the building of a church. That enterprise has been completed. A beautiful building has been erected, at the cost of over £3000. It was opened, free of debt, by Mr. Spurgeon on 29th January 1891.

The only other locality in France where the Free Church is represented is Aix-les-Bains, a health resort much frequented in summer by people afflicted with rheumatism. Here there is a Protestant Home for Invalids, attached to which is a small church capable of holding a hundred people. To the desirableness of occupying this field the attention of the Church was called some sixteen years ago, and of late services have been conducted in it during May and June, chiefly by Mr. Minto of Cannes. The congregation, we are told, and can well believe, is always an interesting one.

Although it is principally in Italy, Switzerland, and France that the Free Church is to be met with, yet there are several other Continental countries in which her influence has been felt. Among these are Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Turkey. In Spain, one of her oldest stations is that of

Gibraltar. So early as 1841 the Church of Scotland sent out a minister to care for the soldiers that might be of her communion there; and in 1843 the Presbyterian congregation which had been formed on the Rock, along with its minister, joined the Free Church. It was only in 1849, however, that it was recognised formally as one of our stations. After that date it was visited by a succession of men until 1855, when a settled minister—the Rev. A. Sutherland of Dunfermline—was appointed to the charge. He was succeeded in 1868 by the Rev. T. Coventry; and he again in 1885 by the present minister, the Rev. Thomas Murray. A new church, costing with site £5000, was opened in 1854.

Other two Spanish stations have generally been supplied by Free Church ministers,—those of Huelva and Rio Tinto, —but they have been supported by the English company working the mines in the neighbourhood.

Lisbon is the only place in Portugal where the Free Church is represented. The needs of the British colony there led to the Rev. Robert Stewart being sent out in 1866. Through his exertions, the Convent and Church of the Mariannos were purchased for the mission, and accommodation provided in them not only for Presbyterian services, etc., but also for the residence of the minister. After twelve years' service, Mr. Stewart was obliged to retire on account of the state of his health. He was succeeded by the Rev. A. D. Paterson, who filled the post for five years. And he again has been followed by the Rev. R. M. Lithgow. In connection with the congregation are a mission to the Portuguese and a day school for boys and girls. The old convent property is very extensive, and a portion of it being let as an English pension, helps to endow the church.

In Austria there are three Free Church stations. One of

these is at Vienna, to which a large number of medical students resort both from this country and America. For their benefit and that of the English-speaking residents and governesses, services were begun in 1884, and the encouragement given was so decided that it was almost immediately resolved to establish in the city a regular station. This was done in 1886, when the Rev. Frank Gordon undertook the charge. During the months of June, July, and August, Vienna is deserted by as many as can find means to leave it, and the accessible health resorts become crowded. One of these is Carlsbad, and there Mr. Gordon has for some years set up a regular summer station, which has been much appreciated.

The third Austrian town in which services have been commenced is Prague in Bohemia. Here a Jewish mission was for some time maintained, but it was found too unpromising to be continued. Our missionary, however, the Rev. James Pirie, preferred to remain in the place where he had laboured so long, and the Continental Committee gladly accepted his offer to conduct, during the season, a regular English service. The station so instituted has been well supported, and has been the means of doing much good.

The congregation at Constantinople has not been formally under the control of the Free Church. It has been a Union Church, in which the Americans have had an interest. But it has been for many years supplied from this country, and it is a Free Church minister, Mr. Anderson, who is now in charge of the station.

One other place must be noticed before we close this review. It is the island of Malta. As has already been indicated, the home Church interested itself in it at a very early period, and that interest has been maintained ever since. It has become one of our most important and influential

stations, the ministers in charge having for long occupied the position of chaplains to the Presbyterian soldiers. With one name in particular the work has been associated for many years, Dr. Wisely having been appointed to the island in 1854.

The conduct of this branch of the Church's work was, to begin with, in the hands of the Colonial Committee. A special Committee of Assembly was indeed appointed in 1845, with Dr. Lorimer as its Convener, to maintain correspondence with the Continental Churches, and much interesting work was done by it—deputies like Dr. Merle d'Aubigne and the Monods being received with extraordinary enthusiasm. But the forming of stations was reckoned Colonial business, and it was not till 1868 that a separate Continental Committee was constituted, and entrusted with the oversight of all matters connected with the Continent in any way.

Of this Committee the Rev. Dr. R. W. Stewart was the first Chairman and Secretary. He, however, continued for only one year. In 1869 he was succeeded by Sheriff Cleghorn, and he again by Mr. David Maclagan, who occupied the chair, first by himself from 1875 to 1878, then in conjunction with Colonel Young between 1879 and 1882, and again by himself till 1883. In 1878–79, Mr. James Stevenson was Convener, but he resigned after a year's experience; and in 1883, Mr. Brown Douglas, advocate, took his place and guided the enterprise till 1886. Mr. James Balfour, W.S., in that year was appointed to the office of Convener, and retained it till 1893, when he was succeeded by Mr. F. A. Brown Douglas, junior, advocate.

The office of Secretary has been filled by the Rev. George Divorty, the Rev. Peter Hope, the Rev. J. Grant Mackintosh, and the Rev. G. Milne Rae, D.D.

No scheme of the Church has been carried on with more vigour and wisdom and success. A succession of circumstances — among others the visits paid by distinguished foreigners to the General Assembly after the Disruption—led to the early awakening of a warm interest in the Continent, and, despite the burdens which it was called on to bear at home, the Free Church responded with extraordinary readiness to the appeals which came to it from abroad. What helped, also, to forward its work of extension was the raising up of so many who were found singularly qualified for the carrying on of Continental work—men such as Dr. Stewart, Dr. M'Dougall, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Buscarlet. By their means and that of others, quite a number of stations have been established on an enduring basis, and property created amounting in value to over £80,000. It may be added that the Committee has been highly favoured with Conveners. They have been all laymen, but they have been among the best men in the Church, and under their superintendence a position has been gained for the Free Church on the Continent which has made it better known there than any other Presbyterian communion in the world.

CHAPTER XIV

SABBATH SCHOOLS AND THE YOUNG

I. *Sabbath Schools*

THE completeness of the survey which Dr. Welsh took at the Disruption of the educational wants of Scotland has already been illustrated in various connections. But here is another example of his far sight. "A very general feeling," he said in the Assembly of 1843, "seems to prevail, that under the new arrangements the Sabbath school should be recognised as one of the stated congregational means of grace in connection with the Church."

Up to this time the importance of the position of the Sabbath school had been by no means realised, and even so late as 1850 we find a minister of some prominence expressing his dislike to the forming within the Free Church of any distinct organisation having the support of these schools as its aim.

But the necessity of giving religious instruction to the youth of the country was too constantly present to the men who left the Establishment to allow of any slackness in the prosecution of the enterprise, and few things are more notable in our history than the rapidity with which the scheme grew and prospered. What helped to that end was, no doubt, the fact that so many of those who had begun to teach before the Disruption joined the Free Church. Dr. Welsh reported, on the authority of one likely to know, that all the Sabbath-

school teachers in Edinburgh had done so; and although, he admitted, the statement might have to be received with deductions, yet it was notorious that a very large proportion of those who had been engaged in Christian work had come under the influence of the evangelical movement, and hence were likely to be found in the Free Church.

At first the Sabbath School Scheme was placed under a Sub-Committee of the Education Committee, and excellent work was done by it. In 1845 a report was submitted, in which it was said that 916 schools had been established, with 4248 teachers and 50,472 scholars. It was also intimated that a *Children's Missionary Record* had been commenced. And ministers were recommended to preach now and then to the young, and to look after the founding of mission schools.

In 1850 the Convener of the Sub-Committee was Sheriff Maitland Heriot of Ramornie. It is right that his services as such should be gratefully remembered, for the reports given in by him in these and subsequent years are exceedingly thoughtful and suggestive. He was able to speak of decided progress. The number of schools was now 1180, with 6714 teachers and 75,290 scholars. His Committee had been taking steps for promoting the efficiency of the teachers—several men (among others, Mr. Arnot, Mr. Tasker, and Mr. Campbell of Melrose) having given lectures with that view in various places; arrangements had been made also for the supply of Bibles to schools; and the Assembly was asked to appoint representatives of the Committee in the different Presbyteries of the Church. A number of suggestions were added, and among these the adoption of measures to prevent lapsing among the young people leaving the Sabbath school.

The report for 1851 was still more remarkable. It supplied a list of all schools in the Church, with the number of their teachers and scholars. It told of what was being

done by those Presbyteries which were specially concerning themselves about the work. And it offered a number of recommendations, whose value has not been lessened by the lapse of time. For example, it was asked that ministers should have a careful census taken up of each parish, and adopt means for bringing the neglected and careless into their Sabbath schools; that no Sabbath scholar should be permitted simply to drop off a roll and disappear; that each scholar should be passed, on reaching a certain age, to a Bible class; and that each Presbytery should require periodical reports as to the attendance, etc., of the schools within its bounds. It was also asked whether, in large towns, there might not be an experiment tried of a church for neglected children, and whether nothing could be done for reaching the children of the upper classes. Finally, the Committee expressed their satisfaction that some ministers addressed their young people every Sabbath Day, and suggested that divinity students should be pressed "not merely personally to teach a class in a Sabbath school, but to acquire the habit of addressing children in numbers, and of conducting their devotions shortly and simply." As a significant evidence of the increased interest which was being taken in the enterprise, it was mentioned that the circulation of the *Children's Record* had increased, during the year, by 10,000.

During this and the following years the published statistics show steady progress. In 1851 there were 8506 teachers and 99,090 scholars, while in 1852 the numbers had risen to 9122 and 103,945 respectively.

For some time after this the subject does not seem to have been brought so prominently before the Church at large. At least, we do not find it reported upon in the General Assembly. In 1855, however, the interest is revived, when, with Mr. William Dickson as Convener of the Sub-Committee, Dr.

Candlish is requested to ask the House for help towards the removal of a small debt which had been incurred. The appeal then made, as we learn from the report of 1856, was not responded to very generously, and for a succession of years we read of complaints being submitted of extraordinary indifference to the business of sending replies to schedules. But Mr. Dickson was not daunted by this evidence of what appeared to be want of heart in the enterprise. He persevered in his endeavours to quicken the enthusiasm of the Church, and he succeeded so far as to make his annual statements increasingly interesting and instructive. It was only in 1863, however, that he was able to place before the Church a fairly full table of statistics, and the results shown were as follows:—Sabbath schools, 1903; senior classes, 943; teachers, 12,563; scholars, 141,717.

Ten years later another great step was taken. In 1873 the Church practically recognised the Sabbath school as an integral part of her ecclesiastical system, by taking a more direct and official oversight of the whole work, and the scholars had by that time increased to 151,848, the teachers to 13,815.

In 1883 the progress made by the Scheme was shown to be still more marked. The number of young people under instruction had now risen to 201,345, and the number of teachers to 17,890, while more than 80,000 of the *Children's Record* were reported to be in circulation monthly, and £5009 to have been collected during the year for missionary objects.

During the next decade the advance achieved was not quite so notable. The field had at last been fairly well occupied by the Free and other Churches. But in 1893 there were no signs of backgoing. Then, it was reported, there were 222,035 in our schools and classes; that these were under the care of 18,946 teachers; and that the

missionary contributions for the year had amounted to £6275.

For thirty-one years—from 1855 to 1886—the Sabbath school enterprise was directed by Mr. William Dickson, and it was largely to him that its remarkable success was due. His annual statements came to be looked forward to in the Assemblies with ever-increasing expectation, and it grew to be a matter of constant wonder that he was able to present his subjects in aspects so various that a sense of freshness was given to each. But the explanation was not far to seek. He was not content with merely gathering statistics. He was always the vigilant and wide-awake superintendent of the work, on the outlook for new ideas and new methods, and in his annual reports he showed himself ever up to date, informing the Church as to what had been attempted and achieved, and making suggestions as to the future.

These reports, indeed, can never be overlooked, either by those who want to know the history of Sabbath schools, or by those who desire hints for practical purposes. At an early period Mr. Dickson was able to make an arrangement for their free circulation among all the teachers of the Church in Scotland, and the arrangement has happily been continued till now, every year one friend or another of the cause voluntarily undertaking to bear the expense. Perhaps the expectation that they would be diffused so widely has had its effect in leading to their being prepared with particular care.

Mr. Dickson was succeeded in the Convenership by Mr. J. S. Ferrier, and the report which he laid before the Assembly of 1893 was one of the most elaborate and interesting of the kind which has yet been published. That year, however, Mr. Ferrier's term of office came to an end, and Mr. J. C. Robertson of Glasgow was appointed in his room.

II. *Welfare of Youth*

From the beginning of the Sabbath school enterprise the desire was once and again expressed that something special could be done for the young people of older growth in the Church, but it was not till 1872 that any definite step was taken in that direction. Then a Committee of Assembly was appointed, with Dr. Charles Brown and Mr. David Maclagan as Joint-Conveners, to consider the subject, and that Committee in 1873 submitted a report, in which an indication was given of the ends which it was thought ought to be kept in view.

Among these ends were the promotion of denominational loyalty among our young men, and the quickening of their intelligence by means of lectures, literary associations, and advanced classes.

And the Committee was not slack in carrying out its own suggestions. Arrangements were made for a more careful oversight of the young people, and courses of lectures on the evidences, etc., were given in several of our chief towns. But it was not till 1878 that the scheme attained to the position which it has ever since maintained.

In 1875, Dr. Alexander Whyte was appointed Joint-Convener of the Committee in room of Dr. Charles Brown, and it is to him beyond all others that the credit is due of having secured for the enterprise the outstanding place which it has now occupied for so many years. The plans finally adopted were not matured all at once. The Committee in 1876, in referring with satisfaction to the Bible Handbooks which Messrs. T. & T. Clark were about to publish, gave some hint of the line they proposed to take, but two more years were allowed to pass before they were able to submit their completed plan. Then, in 1878, Dr. Whyte laid before the

Church the scheme with which it is now familiar, and in the construction of which he was effectively assisted by Mr. Simeon MacPhail, who was now appointed to succeed Mr. Maclagan in the Joint-Convenership.

The scheme consisted in prescribing to the youth of the Church certain subjects for study with text-books attached —in setting at the end of the season common examination papers to all competitors—and in offering, as rewards, prizes in money or books and certificates of different value—the names of the prize-takers being read out in the General Assembly.

An enterprise like this could not be carried on except at considerable expense. For a number of years the needed funds were collected mainly by Mr. Ferguson of Kinmundy; but in 1893 its standing as a distinct Church agency was recognised in a formal way, by its being declared entitled to share in a general—the Education—collection.

A remarkable amount of interest has been manifested in this effort. In the very first year of its existence, as many as 18,000 young people were known to be studying one or other of the subjects prescribed, and of these 1400 came forward to compete for the prizes. Since its institution various modifications have been made on the scheme or its manner of working, but its main features continue to be practically unchanged; and that the interest in it is maintained, is proved by the circumstance that in 1893 the number of competitors had considerably more than doubled. Simultaneous examinations take place every year in between three and four hundred centres.

What the effects have been of this endeavour to promote the intelligence of the Church it would be difficult to say, but no one who has ever been present in the Assembly when Dr. Whyte was giving in his report, and seen the galleries

crowded with young people eager to hear the result of the examinations, can have any doubt about the amount of interest which has been awakened in the scheme, or question the certainty of its telling materially on the rising generation.

Dr. Whyte has now retired from the convenership of the Committee, his place being taken by Professor Salmond. To both in this connection the Church has been greatly indebted, but to neither of them, perhaps, does the scheme owe more than to Mr. James and Mr. Robert Simson (especially the former), who have devoted themselves unsparingly to promote its success.

A new departure was taken in 1885, when the Assembly approved of a proposal which had been made the year before, and which had in the interval been carefully considered by a Committee, to establish a "Free Church of Scotland Guild." Its objects were stated to be—

(1) To combine and develop existing agencies in connection with the youth of the Church.

(2) To promote the formation of new agencies.

(3) By organisation to give opportunity for concerted action.

(4) Generally to further the religious, intellectual, and social well-being of the youth of the Church.

The scheme has been prosecuted with great energy, and has achieved in various ways very satisfactory results. In 1893 it was reported that affiliated with it were 361 societies. These are represented, year by year, at a meeting held now in one town, now in another, and in which addresses are given by men of influence in the Church. A monthly journal also has been established — "YOUTH" — which has been largely helpful in furthering the ends aimed at in the institution. By its means the youth of the Church have

been induced to contribute essays, tales, and poems, and even works of art; and every month, as we are assured, "the foremost of our young men and women in every quarter of the country, even to its remotest districts, have sent in papers showing wide reading, careful reflection, due appreciation of facts, and frequently imaginative and literary powers of great promise." In addition to all these works, the Guild issues yearly a scheme of "Daily Bible Readings," which have been largely circulated, and has undertaken to support one or two missionaries in some of the villages of India.

The compulsory system of education which now prevails in Scotland has, without any question, contributed largely to the spread of intelligence throughout the country, but the very pressure put upon teachers by the School Board in connection with secular education has necessarily tended to diminish the amount of the everyday religious training of the young, and thus imposes a more urgent obligation on the Churches to do all they can to supply the lack. There seems more need than ever, therefore, to make much of the Sabbath school, and also of those higher agencies which seek the welfare of young men and young women. It is satisfactory to know that especially in the latter connection the Free Church has been receiving of recent years very decided encouragement to go forward; for, apart from the special means which have been referred to above, there has perhaps been no period in its history when so much attention has been given to the conduct of Bible classes, or so much success has followed the endeavour to make them useful.

CHAPTER XV

THE CARDROSS CASE AND SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE

SEVENTEEN years after the Disruption, the question came to be raised, in an unexpected way, of whether the Free Church had not, after all, made its many sacrifices in vain. Mr. MacMillan, minister at Cardross, was accused of several offences, certain of which were found proven by all the Courts of the Church. But in connection with one particular charge there was not the like unanimity, and the procedure followed with reference to it seemed to many to be peculiar if not questionable. His Presbytery acquitted him of the charge, and its sentence was not appealed against; but when the case went to the Synod, it was argued that it was within the competency of that Court to look at the whole case, the count not appealed against included; and this position was sustained by the General Assembly. The result was that in the Court of final appeal the entire case, as it was originally submitted to the Presbytery, was gone into—the whole evidence was laid before the judges—and the guilt of the accused party having, as was thought, been established, he was suspended from the office of the ministry.

Here, it may be admitted, was a question about which a difference of opinion might very well exist. The decision come to did not practically affect Mr. MacMillan very much, because there was matter enough in the other counts to ensure his condemnation. But he had undoubtedly some

conceivable warrant for believing that wrong was done to him, when a charge of which he was acquitted in the Court below was revived against him in the Courts above. This was, in fact, the view which he took up; and, smarting under a sense of what he regarded as injustice, he hastily took a step which brought him no comfort in the end, but which made him for a time the hero of a movement which the enemies of the Free Church and of spiritual independence viewed with open delight. He applied to the Court of Session for an interdict.

The step was heard of in the Assembly with indignation. The Lord Ordinary for the day (Lord Kinloch) was, indeed, too prudent to fall into the snare. He refused to grant the interdict craved. But the offence committed was the same. In a Church whose fundamental principle it was that it behoved to be left free from external authority to exercise discipline upon its own members, a minister had been found prepared to throw the principle to the winds when he had a private end of his own to serve; and the act of rebellion could not be winked at. Mr. MacMillan was forthwith summoned to the bar of the Assembly, and upon his admitting that he had really appealed to Cæsar on what was regarded as a spiritual matter, he was dealt with as one who had been taken red-handed, and deposed on the spot.

Different opinions have been held as to the wisdom of this summary method of administering justice; but whatever may be thought about it, one result followed which might have been anticipated. It did not improve the temper of the delinquent, or incline him to resile from the position he had taken up. He was now, in a manner, outlawed, and the next thing heard about him was that he had raised in the Civil Courts an action against the General Assembly, naming certain persons as specially representing it, and concluding

for the reduction of the spiritual sentences and for damages to a large amount.

The case was one in which the interest felt was for a time consuming. Many had always been of opinion that those who had joined the Free Church had become schismatics by mistake—that there was no such thing possible as the liberty for which they had left the Establishment; and they now expected that this would be demonstrated. On the other hand, it was admitted that the question might have come up in a form more favourable for the Free Church. The regularity of the procedure, to begin with, was undoubtedly debateable, and the summary deposition of a man for what would, of course, be regarded by them as a very venial offence —that of appealing to themselves for protection—was not likely to induce the judges to take a very friendly view of the situation.

Mr. MacMillan's first demand had been for an interdict to prevent the Presbytery of Dumbarton from preaching his church vacant, and this was refused by Lord Kinloch as incompetent. After his deposition, his second action was directed not only against the General Assembly, its Moderator and Clerks, but also against Drs. Candlish and Bannerman, who had moved and seconded the sentence of deposition that had been passed upon him. This second appeal met, to begin with, the same fate as the first—the Lord Ordinary (Lord Benholm) declaring that it did not fall within the province of the Civil Courts to review ecclesiastical judgments. Against these conclusions, however, an appeal was taken to the Inner House, the First Division of the Court, and there a preliminary decision was given which at first startled the Church and produced an immense sensation throughout the country. Mr. MacMillan asked that the defendants should be ordered to bring with them, and produce, the sentence, resolution, or proceedings,

and whole ground or warrants upon which the same proceeded. This, in the jargon of the Courts, was called "satisfying production," and at the first blush of it, when the demand was complied with, the expression was viewed with the greatest suspicion. The idea suggested was that it implied on the part of the Law Lords an assertion of their old right to review judicially all ecclesiastical proceedings, and the cry was instantly raised that the demand must be resisted at all hazards. But soberer and more sensible counsels soon prevailed. It was explained that, in the decree, no invasion was contemplated on the liberties of the Church. All that was sought was reliable information on the subject submitted. That, as was soon seen, the authorities had quite a right to ask, and the Church had no interest in refusing.

"Production" accordingly was "satisfied." The Court was put in full possession of all that it wanted to know. And the case went to trial.

The importance attached to the questions now raised was illustrated in the character and position of the counsel engaged on either side. Of the seven men chosen to speak for the two parties, six lived to ascend the Bench—the Free Church advocates being Lord Moncreiff, Lord Young, and Lord Rutherfurd Clark. How Mr. MacMillan was able to fight such a battle is well understood. He was regarded as representing a cause, and was privately supported in maintaining that cause by those who sympathised with its aims.

It is not necessary to describe particularly the history of the case as it dragged its slow course along. It is sufficient to say that what the Church pled was its own right, as such, to exercise discipline upon all its members, and that, while it did not claim infallibility for its General Assembly, it held that it was not within the province of the Court of Session

to review and control its proceedings in dealing with ecclesiastical offences.

These pleas were repelled by a majority of the judges, and the right of the Court of Session was asserted to set aside the sentence passed upon Mr. MacMillan in so far as that stood in the way of damages being awarded, if they should subsequently be found to be due. It was, indeed, carefully explained that this did not mean that the Presbytery of Dumbarton might be ordered to repone the former minister of Cardross. To any authority to do that the Court laid no claim (a considerable concession, it will be observed, to a disestablished Church). All that it insisted on was its competency to suspend the sentence *quoad hoc*, or with reference to the pecuniary element connected with it. And, to reconcile parties to this idea, Lord Deas was at pains to teach that a Church, until it receives jurisdiction from a State, is nothing more than a voluntary association, like a club or a shipping company.

As may be supposed, these conclusions were not acquiesced in by the Free Church. On the contrary, they were vehemently protested against, and an appeal was taken to the House of Lords—Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Selborne, being retained as leading counsel in the case.

In the meantime the action lingered on in the Court of Session. What the law was had been declared. It had been authoritatively proclaimed that, if a man is entitled to damages, he may ask to have the sentence of any ecclesiastical Court set aside if it stands in the way of his receiving them. But the principle needed now to be applied. On what ground was Mr. MacMillan to receive his damages, and in what specific form was he to state his demand for them? While onlookers were waiting to hear his answers to these questions, the Lord President suddenly spoke. A mere side

issue was before him at the moment, but he seemed to have been regarding the progress of the process in the Court with impatience, and, without being asked, he gave an opinion on the merits. He announced that he did not think it would be worth the while of the prosecutor to continue on the line which he had been pursuing. The General Assembly which had deposed him had ceased to exist, and no money was to be expected from that quarter. If he really wished for damages, he ought to bring a charge of malice against specified individuals.

Mr. MacMillan took the hint. He dropped his original charges, and brought an action such as had been recommended.

But a general feeling of weariness had now come over those who had been interesting themselves in the cause. It was beginning to be seen that no great gain to Erastianism was to be got by pursuing the case further. The help which Mr. MacMillan is believed to have been receiving was not forthcoming as before; and he himself, in despair, sent a flag of truce to the Church whose discipline he had been defying, proposing conditions of peace. The overture thus made by him was addressed, through Mr. Stark of Greenock, to Dr. Robert Buchanan. In it he said: "It has been suggested to me that it were better to terminate the Cardross Case by my withdrawing my action from the Court of Session and casting myself on the mercy of the Church, than by embarking again on a sea of litigation. I have at last brought myself to look upon matters in that light, expecting some provision to be made for me by the liberality of the members of the Church. . . . In these circumstances I am anxious, before committing myself to a definite course, to ascertain, if possible, whether my petition, or casting myself upon the mercy of the Church, would be favourably received,

and whether leading men would countenance a subscription being got up for me, and thus terminate 'the Cardross Case.'"

How such a proposal would have been regarded if it had ever been formally made to the Church, may be gathered from the reply which Dr. Buchanan gave to Mr. Stark's letter.

"In reference," said he, "to the extraordinary application which Mr. MacMillan's letter contains, I have simply and emphatically to express my entire concurrence in your statement, 'that his proposals would not be listened to for a moment by any party in the Church.' I cannot refrain from adding that the effrontery of the proposal is in perfect keeping with all Mr. MacMillan's previous proceedings in the Cardross Case."

As a matter of fact, the application was never made, and Mr. MacMillan meeting with no encouragement to carry the battle further, dropped the action, and retired into obscurity a confessedly beaten man.

So far, then, the outcome of the case was not very satisfactory to those who undertook it. Not much practically was made of the assault on the liberties of the Church. It had been declared that an Assembly after it had been dissolved could not be sued for damages, and that such an action as Mr. MacMillan had raised could be treated as relevant only when the men complained of were charged with malice.

At the same time, it was undeniable that the "pleas of privilege" advanced by the Free Church had been repelled, and that the Court of Session had asserted its right to reduce spiritual sentences if these lay in the way of meeting a complainant's just claims. These judgments, moreover, had been accompanied by utterances from the Bench which

implied that, apart from Establishment, a Church has no more title to expect protection in the exercise of its discipline than has any other ordinary society to be protected in the conduct of its proceedings.

Against these conclusions the Church, as has been said, strenuously protested, and if Mr. MacMillan's case had not ended in a fiasco, they would have been submitted for review to the House of Lords. But, after the prosecution collapsed, it became a question whether it was worth while to go further. The objectionable utterances were of an abstract kind. No attempt had been made to apply them. It was quite a possible thing, also, that they would be approved by the House of Lords. And very wisely, as anyone may see, it was decided to let the thing take end.

But not the less has the attitude of the Court of Session given satisfaction to those who fail to appreciate the nature of our contendings, and what has been said on their behalf may be referred to now as helping to illustrate the real character of our position.

"The Free Church," says the biographer of Dr. Norman Macleod, "has failed to solve the difficulty she herself raised as to the relationship of Church and State. In the Cardross Case her claim to spiritual independence within her own denomination was judicially denied. May it not therefore be questioned whether, after little more than thirty years' existence, she really does not find herself without a logical position between Voluntaryism or Establishment?"

With the sincerest desire to understand Dr. Macleod's reasoning, we confess to being quite unable to follow his argument.

It is true that our claim to spiritual independence has been judicially denied. But there is for us no novelty in that circumstance. The deliverance of Lord President Hope,

already quoted, shows that to his mind any such claim, by whatever Church made—whether it be Established or otherwise—is absurd. A Church as such has, in his judgment, no special standing in the world. It may talk of its "Courts," but no institutions of the kind exist in reality. It has no "jurisdiction" which it can properly call its own. To speak of Christ as its "Head" seemed to him to be absurd. And as for what it calls discipline, that is simply the action of an ordinary association in dealing with an offending member. It is true that when a Church is established, a change takes place in its condition. It does then come to have a "jurisdiction" and an authority in the exercise of which it is upheld. But these distinctions do not follow from the recognition by the State of its inherent rights and functions. The government which it is then permitted to exercise is simply bestowed upon it by the Civil Courts.

That has always been the view in favour with the Court of Session; and accordingly we were not in the least surprised when we heard it re-echoed from the Bench when the Cardross Case was proceeding. Indeed, the utterances of Lord Deas at the later date have such a striking resemblance to those of a former generation, that they sound like a simple rehearsal of them.

"If anything be clear in this case," said his Lordship, "it is that the defenders [the Free Church] are invested with no jurisdiction whatever, either ecclesiastical or civil. The jurisdiction flows from the supreme power of the State. The sanction of the same authority which enacted the laws is necessary to the erection of Courts and the appointment of judges and magistrates to administer the law. The Established Church had and has this sanction. The statute laws of the land conferred upon it ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be exercised

by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies. But there is no such statute law applicable to the association called the Free Church. When the defenders separated from the Establishment, they left all jurisdiction behind them. No voluntary association of any agreement among its members can assume a jurisdiction which flows only from the legislative power and regal prerogative."

These words, uttered authoritatively from the Bench, make it quite clear that our claim to spiritual independence was "judicially denied." But more was contained in them than that. They proclaimed with equal emphasis that any Courts existing in the Established Church, and any jurisdiction exercised by them, owe their origin, not to its inherent rights as a Church, but simply and solely to the grace and good-will of the State which has chosen to institute or confer them.

Dr. Macleod accepts that position. He seems to see nothing in it contrary to the doctrine of our common Confession, that "the Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of His Church, has therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate"; nor does it strike him as odd that a judge in Presbyterian Scotland should utter such unmitigated Erastianism, in forgetfulness of the fact that the Confession of Faith is, so to speak, a part of the law of the land. All that strikes him is that we have not solved our pre-Disruption difficulties, and have failed to find a logical position for ourselves. There now remain for us, he argues, just two alternatives—one, to go back into the Establishment; the other, to go forward to Voluntaryism!

This reasoning perplexes us. With every disposition to consider it respectfully, we have entirely failed, we must repeat again, to appreciate its significance.

On the one hand, it is suggested that, if we have any

regard for logic, we ought to return to the Establishment. But would not that be a most irrational thing for us to do? We profess to believe devoutly that a Church is more than a voluntary association. We hold that its government and laws were not framed by the votes of its members, but by a Divine authority. And in its discipline we see more than the action of a club—we see a spiritual process pursued for moral ends. It is true that these claims have been "judicially denied." But what then? Are we to sacrifice our conscientious convictions because that is so? We do not suppose that one intelligent Free Churchman was in the least affected by the deliverance of Lord Deas. And to go back into the Establishment, when that deliverance has been accepted, would be an act of ecclesiastical suicide.

There is, however, the other alternative. If we turn our back on the Establishment, says Dr. Macleod, we must go on to Voluntaryism — that is to say, we must proceed dogmatically to declare that there ought never to be any connection between Church and State.

But one wonders why such a necessity exists. If, indeed, as Dr. Macleod seems to imply, such a thing as a free Church in a free State is an impossibility—if no Church can ever ally itself to the State and maintain its independence—then Voluntaryism will certainly have to be accepted as alone possible to Presbyterians, and the disciples of that faith will be grateful for the concession which he makes.

But what good would it do us practically to become Voluntaries? The Civil Courts, if they have a mind to persecute, will not stay their hand because we have adopted the Voluntary principle. They can follow a Voluntary Church into the wilderness just as effectually as one which believes in Establishments. They have the power of the sword, and there is no limit to the extent to which that

power may be used, if the possessors believe themselves entitled to employ it.

What, then, after all, is our position? It is a very simple one, and a perfectly logical one. It is substantially that of the man whose conscience constrains him to assume a certain attitude, and who keeps to it let the consequences be what they may. We believe it to be no mere figure of speech that Christ is the Head of His Church—that He has appointed in it a government distinct from that of the civil magistrate—and that for the regulation of His kingdom He has laid down specific laws. Having these convictions, we are not affected by such judicial deliverances as have been quoted. They imply just such assumptions on the part of the State as the Church of Scotland has been long familiar with; and, so far from being moved by them to commit the liberties of the Church to their keeping, we are constrained all the more anxiously to preserve them from their interference.

It is quite true that the Court of Session has the power to enforce its judgments. It may not merely say that the Free Church is simply a "voluntary association," but it may deal with it as such. Quite conceivably it might review and reverse its sentences. It might interfere with its administration of the most sacred ordinances. It might order ministers to be deposed or reponed. It might, in short, mock at all its pretensions to have "jurisdiction." But, under such circumstances, what is our remedy? Not, certainly, to go against our consciences, and return to a position which we have already proved to be untenable, nor yet to go on to a new position in which we would be equally unsafe, but to take our stand where we believe Providence has placed us, and maintain it as we can.

Lord Deas did not propose to replace Mr. MacMillan as

minister of Cardross, but, on his principles, he might quite consistently have done so. The Court of Session claimed and exercised such a power of coercion in Strathbogie. And if the Presbytery of Dumbarton had refused to obey the commands of the Court, it might have been threatened with imprisonment. That same thing was done long ago at Dunkeld. But nobody imagines for a moment that the Presbytery would have complied with the edict. What, then, would have been the result? Simply the outbreaking of a new conflict, in which, it is certain, the Court of Session would in the long-run have had the worst of it. History tells us that the civil power (unless it is sufficiently strong, as it was in Hungary, to stamp out its opposers altogether) has not been accustomed to get the best of it when it has attempted to suppress liberties in the maintenance of which conscience is engaged. Churches may always be trusted to fight a successful battle for themselves, if they have a reasonable case in hand. And in regard to our own contendings, we may be excused for thinking now and then of Lord Cockburn's significant lament: "On looking back on the matter, what I am chiefly sorry for is the Court of Session."

How the case now stands, therefore, may be summarily stated thus. The Established Church, for the sake of the endowments and of having "jurisdiction" conferred upon it—of having its Presbyteries recognised as "Courts"—and of having its sentences countersigned by the Courts of Law—has consented to be held as having no "government" apart from its Establishment, to give up to the Civil Courts the right to define its province, and to submit to have some of its most strictly internal affairs, such as the formation of the pastoral tie and the constitution of its Courts, regulated in the minutest way by Acts of Parliament. While the Free Church has elected, at a considerable sacrifice, to withdraw

from an entangling alliance, under which she regarded herself as bound to a disloyal subserviency to the State and to establish herself on an independent basis outside, she does not forget that by a majority of the Law Lords her "pleas of privilege" have been repelled. She knows that in their view a Church, as such, is not an institution *sui generis*, to be dealt with differently from a club or a voluntary association. But she also knows that that is not the opinion of the Scottish people; so that practically there is no great risk of the principle being in the long-run employed oppressively. But whether or no, she considers it safest, in the circumstances, to have her liberties in her own keeping, and to hold to her own right to determine what is sacred.

Nor, in taking up this position, is she influenced by mere wilfulness or presumption. In claiming to have a jurisdiction of her own, with the power to deliver "judicial" sentences, she seeks to be guided not by any private speculation as to what a Church should be, but by the teaching of Scripture as interpreted by her Confession.

This claim has been branded as Ultramontanism. But no one who understands it will imagine for a moment that any disposition exists to control the State. Its supremacy within its own sphere—the limits of which must, of course, be determined by itself—is fully and freely conceded. The independence of the Church, however, is a point which is contended for not for the Church's sake only, but out of deference to a far higher consideration. It is the custom in some quarters to scoff at the affirmation that in this connection "the crown rights of the Redeemer" are at stake, but it would be difficult to find words which indicate the situation more exactly. We seek the Church's freedom because we believe the Church to be His kingdom, and that His will must be supreme in it.

CHAPTER XVI

EFFORTS FOR THE REUNION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES

"'THERE is that scattereth and yet increaseth.' So there is that divideth and it tendeth to unity. So it was with the Disruption. Blamed by many as a schismatic act, a great prompter to and promoter of division, no public incident of our times has done more to bring together into one the scattered Churches of the Reformation."

So writes Dr. Hanna in his Life of Chalmers; and never was made a truer or a more suggestive remark.

In the first Assembly of the Free Church there was no time for any special manifestation of feeling on the part of other communities. Deputies, indeed, were present at the moment in Edinburgh from the Presbyterian Churches of England and Ireland, but these had brought commissions to "the Church of Scotland," and it was only because they recognised that body as meeting in Canonmills that they appeared there with their felicitations. There were also special reasons why the Original Secession Synod should have been so early on the spot. But what would actually happen was of course unknown, and it was natural that formal congratulations should have been postponed till after the event of the Disruption.

These came, however, in gratifying number in course of time; and when the Assembly again met, at Glasgow, in October 1843, Dr. Chalmers was able to lay on the

table twenty addresses from religious bodies in England, Wales, Scotland, and America, and to introduce deputations from the Church of Geneva, the Reformed Presbyterian, United Secession, and Original Secession Synods of Scotland, and from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

The deputation from the United Secession Church embraced its most distinguished men,—Drs. Brown, Heugh, King, and Harper,—and nothing could exceed the cordiality with which they spoke. And indeed the whole evening was a memorable one, in which were heard fraternal greetings being exchanged beween men who had once been engaged in keenest controversy with one another.

Dr. Chalmers looked on at this remarkable display of brotherly love with extraordinary satisfaction. "I think every man," he said, "whose heart is in its right place, will be delighted with such movements. They are movements quite in my own favourite direction, because one and all of them are movements of convergency, or, in other words, movements which point in the first instance to union, and, as soon as possible and prudent, I trust the landing-place will be incorporation."

Dr. Candlish went even further, and became more explicit. Seeing himself surrounded by the representatives of Nonconforming bodies who had finally broken with the State, he said—

"My friends will bear me witness that I am the very last person who would stand on the rigid assertion of the mere theory of Establishments for the purpose of keeping up division or schism in the Church. So far from that, it appears to me that the distinct refusal of the States and Kingdoms of this world to recognise the only principle on which we can consent to have the Church established, leaves

to us a very great degree of practical liberty, and a large measure of practical discretion as to the terms on which we should stand with other Churches.

"Is the division and schism of the Christian Church to be kept up by a question as to the duty of another party over whom we have no control?"

It is rather striking to find sentiments like these expressed in the very year of the Disruption—and with, we do not for a moment doubt, the hearty approval of the man whose announcement of the fact, "We are not Voluntaries," has been so constantly used to discourage more recent union negotiations. Perhaps if a "convergent" movement had been earlier proposed, it might have met with greater support than we imagine. But it was not proposed, and these efforts for the reconstruction of our national Presbyterians have had to be faced in detail, and not always with the most encouraging results.

I. *The Original Seceders*

The first movement toward a reconstruction of the Church came from the body which claimed to represent most perfectly the position of the Erskines.

When, a century before, the first Seceders left the Establishment, they did not propose to break permanently with the Church. What they complained of was the tyranny of the majority, which prevented them from doing what they believed to be their duty. Their hope was that this state of things would change, and they appealed to the first free and reforming Assembly that might come to be convened. In a word, they started with being simply Seceders for a temporary purpose, and had no idea of becoming on principle permanent Dissenters.

But it is easier to enter a current than to control its course. The Secession was not able to keep on the lines

which it orginally laid out for itself. First, it split into two parts on the question of the lawfulness of taking an oath, and there came to be two communions, the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers. Then each of these sections divided into New Lights and Old Lights, the former moving in the direction of Voluntaryism, the latter cleaving to the principle of an Establishment. The New Lights flourished most, and have since developed into the United Presbyterian Church; but the Old Lights, though reduced in number, had in them an inextinguishable vitality, and they fought steadfastly on, emitting from time to time their "testimonies," whether men would bear or whether they would forbear.

At last the Church of Scotland began to awaken out of its long sleep of Moderatism, and after a time that reforming majority came into power which the Erskines had looked for and anticipated. The Old Light Burghers then saw, as they thought, their opportunity, and hastened to take advantage of it. They appealed to the Assembly, in which the Evangelicals were now in the ascendant, and were gladly received into the fellowship of the Church of Scotland before the Disruption.

The Old Light Anti-Burghers, however,—of whom Dr. M'Crie, the author of the Life of Knox, was the most illustrious representative,—still remained outside, and it was not till the crisis of 1843 was over that they came to the conclusion that the *raison d'être* for the Secession had at last ceased to exist. Reference has already been made to the deputation which they sent to the first Free Church Assembly, and to the remarkable speech made on that occasion by Mr. White of Haddington. The desire for a reunion of the Churches, which was then expressed, gave the greatest satisfaction, and "tremendous applause" followed, when Dr. Guthrie hinted that when the banner of the Free

Church was fully unfurled, it would have emblazoned upon it both the Covenant and the Crown.

Everything, then, seemed to point to a speedy amalgamation of the Churches, and when in 1844 Committees were appointed by both to consult as to its terms, the universal belief was that a consummation would be reached easily and soon. But unexpected difficulties arose. The Original Seceders held the descending obligation of the Covenants, and complained that the Free Church was content to start from the low level of the Revolution Settlement, instead of going back to the Second Reformation. With this complaint many in the Free Church itself heartily sympathised; and Dr. Candlish, in particular, was quite prepared to take the highest possible ground. But in the minds of not a few there arose a strong aversion to the attempt which seemed to be contemplated, to impose a purely man-made bond on the consciences of a new generation, and a copestone was put to the opposition when, in the Assembly of 1847, Dr. Keith startled his hearers by declaring that the Scottish nation had no right to enter into a covenant with God—that the only covenant which had Divine sanction was that made with Abraham—and that in the Solemn League there were things which, if they were approved of by the Free Church, would compel him to leave it.

The result was a suspension of the negotiations. The Committees were dissolved, and although the idea of an amalgamation was not altogether lost sight of, the subject was given over to a general Committee on Christian Union. It is highly creditable to the Original Seceders that, in spite of the discouragements met with, they continued to cherish confidence in the Free Church,—one evidence being a proposal to contribute to its foreign missions,—and we are not surprised to hear that the movement toward union was resumed,

when, in 1851, the General Assembly adopted an Act and Declaration, the design of which was to show the identity of the Free Church with the historic Church of Scotland during the Reformation period. This was reckoned in many quarters a sufficient concession to Original Secession principles, and the Synod of that body was overtured to approach the Free Church anew. The suggestion, however, did not meet with universal approval. On the contrary, a violent controversy broke out, in which oceans of ink were shed—Mr. White of Haddington, the editor of the denominational magazine, taking the lead on one side, and Drs. Manson and Murray replying with vigour on the other. By and by the Synod met, and there the debate was resumed. Dr. Scott, in his History,[1] reports that debate at length, but it is scarcely worth while to describe it here. "The chief obstacle," Dr. Scott says, "to the contemplated alliance was whether or not the continued obligation of the National Covenants on posterity should be insisted on by Seceders as a fundamental article of union." Around this point the battle raged for the better part of two days; and when at last the vote was taken, it was found that 32 (18 ministers and 14 elders) were for union, and 31 (13 ministers and 18 elders) against it. The majority was not large—only one; but reckoning in the Moderator, who went with it, and four or five others who were absent, but who acquiesced, the number of ministers in favour of joining the Free Church was 22 or 23, as against 13 who were opposed to it, while a large proportion of the people concurred.

The after-proceedings were simple. A deputation was appointed to wait on the Free Church Assembly of 1852, and was received there with effusion. Their appearance was

[1] *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church.* By Rev. David Scott, D.D. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot.

regarded as a most significant incident. It was, in fact, "the end of the Secession"; and all parties, from Dr. Candlish and Mr. Dunlop to Dr. Gibson and Dr. Begg, expressed themselves as highly gratified by the event. The consummation took place on the 1st of June; and Mr. White was heartily cheered when he said: "I believe that Ebenezer Erskine and William Wilson, if they had been living, would this evening have ceased to be Seceders by joining the Free Church of Scotland."

II. *The United Presbyterian Church*

For some years longer no further effort was made to heal the existing breaches, but as 1863 approached, a strong desire sprang up for a reunion of the Free Church with the New Light Presbyterians of Scotland. It was well enough known that they had as a body come to hold views about the relations of Church and State that would have rendered incorporation with an Establishment impossible, but it seemed so exceedingly unlikely that the Free Church should within any measureable distance of time be again tempted to become itself Established, that the idea of keeping permanently aloof from an otherwise satisfactory communion on account of what was practically an abstract theory, appeared to many to be quite unreasonable. So universally, in fact, did this feeling prevail, to begin with, that when it was proposed in the Assembly of 1863 to appoint a Committee to negotiate with the United Presbyterian Church with a view to union, the motion was carried unanimously—although in the speeches delivered on the occasion there was no attempt whatever made to conceal the fact that the United Presbyterians were Voluntaries. Indeed, it is a striking circumstance that the ten years' negotiations and discussions which followed did not make this radical point of difference one whit clearer than it was seen to be at the commencement of them.

"So far as I know and believe," said Dr. Buchanan, who proposed the motion for a Committee, "there is but one point on which they and we differ, namely, this—not as to the Headship of Christ over the nations, not as to the obligation binding on civil rulers to own His authority, and to regulate their official as well as their personal acts by His revealed will, but solely as to the lawfulness of setting up a Church Establishment and endowing it out of the public funds. . . . Now, Moderator, if this be all, and if, at the same time, it be no part of their Church's public profession, though I differ from them on this point, I cannot see in it any insuperable obstacle to the union of their Church and ours."

These views were received when they were expressed with loud applause; and, without a dissentient voice, the Churches were started on what seemed to be a most hopeful enterprise—an enterprise, too, the full significance of which was perfectly understood.

The Committee appointed was a very influential one, its Chairman being Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow. Dr. Buchanan had for a long time been occupying a prominent place in the Church as one of its wisest counsellors. Born in 1809 at St. Ninian's, educated in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and licensed by the Presbytery of Dunblane, he was settled first, in 1827, at Gargunnock. From thence, in three years, he was translated to Salton; and later on, in 1833, he was transferred to the Tron Church, Glasgow, of which he continued to be the minister till the College Church was built, mainly for him, in 1857. Before the Disruption he had been the chosen representative of the Evangelical party in their endeavours to influence the statesmen of the time. "One could not look at him," it was said, after his death, "without thinking what a fine ambassador he would have made in some German capital, with his stately appearance, his splendid

courtesy, his perfect reticence, and his shrewd insight into men and things." These qualities commended him to the Church as one fitted to act for it in its negotiations with the State. But he was far from being a mere courtly politician. He was selected to lead in the great debate of 1838, when the flag was formally unfurled of spiritual independence, and he was put in that place because he had already distinguished himself in the cause which lay nearest the heart of Chalmers —that of Church Extension. In the Assembly of 1843 it was he who was called to move the first resolution, when a whole night was given to an exposition of the principles which had led to the Disruption. He too became the historian of the Ten Years' Conflict. To him was due the origination of the Wynd Movement, which is one of the glories of the Free Church. And for many years he filled, with quite unapproachable ability, the position of Convener of the Sustentation Fund Committee. It may seem an odd way of expressing the thought, but it always seems to us that Dr. Buchanan is the most "picturesque" figure which appears in the history of the Free Church. In any case, the proposal was received with acclamation that he should be the Convener of the Union Committee, and it is the simple truth that, as year after year the Committee submitted its reports to the Assembly, papers were read by its Convener which for weight of thought and elegance of diction are unsurpassed by anything of the kind that the Church has ever been called to consider. "He was, moreover, qualified to lead," it has been said, "because he went forward with the times."

When the Joint Committees met, they received intimations from the Reformed Presbyterian and English Presbyterian Churches that they too wished to join in the negotiations. But nothing meanwhile came of conferences with these bodies, and it is not necessary now to take account of them. What

follows in this history has reference in the first place to the efforts made to unite the Free and U.P. Churches.

The first thing done was the arrangement of a programme specifying the points into which inquiry behoved to be made, and the points singled out were the following: The relation of the Civil Magistrate to the Church—Doctrine—Training for the Ministry—Organisation—Worship—Education—Finance —Admission to Sealing Ordinances—Relation to Churches outside Scotland.

Necessarily the business of the first year was to ascertain how far the Churches were at one about the civil magistrate, and when the Assembly of 1864 came round, what seemed a wonderfully satisfactory report was submitted. The meetings of the Joint-Committee had been most pleasant; the principles held by the two Churches in common were found to be many and fundamental; and in one connection only was there a difference of opinion, namely, as to the lawfulness of employing State aid in support of church ordinances. The views which were said to be held by the United Presbyterian Church in reference to that point were not in that Church's creed. Their adoption was not insisted on as a term of communion. But there was no attempt made to conceal the fact that Voluntaryism, so far, was a prevalent article in the Church's belief. At the same time, the position was accepted with most entire acquiescence, that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to embrace and profess the Christian religion, and to promote it in all ways consistent with his own character and that of the Churches concerned in its maintenance.

The report was received on the whole with enthusiasm. Dr. Buchanan, indeed, did not ask the Assembly to express any formal approval of it, but it was well understood that the subject of the first year's negotiations was completed—that nothing more in the meantime was to be said in the

Committee about the civil magistrate—and that now the next point in the programme was to be taken up. And, in the circumstances, it seems clear now that Dr. Julius Wood was the most consistent member of the party which afterwards obstructed the Union; for, having already made up his mind that endowments are of the essence of the Establishment principle, he now proposed virtually that the negotiations should cease. "It would be impossible for me," said Dr. Wood, "to hold that it is unscriptural and a sin in every case to use the national pecuniary resources to aid and support the ordinances of religion. And *I cannot consent to hold it as an open question.* I shall grieve as I have scarcely ever grieved before if the Free Church of Scotland shall consent to hold this as an open question. . . . The view I take of it is, that you will not get the United Presbyterian Committee to give up their principle, nor will you get our Committee to give up their principle. How, then, are you to get them reconciled?"

There was unquestionably a great deal in this contention. The time came when a strong party was formed who took up Dr. Wood's position, and held that the views of the two Churches were irreconcilable. But what a pity it was that they did not say so at once! How many heart-burnings might thus have been avoided! For what a mockery it was to go on to talk about doctrine if the very first stumbling-block was held to be insuperable. The consistent stand made by Dr. Wood was, however, not much appreciated. Dr. Begg, Dr. Gibson, Dr. Forbes, all urged the continuance of the negotiations, and the Committee was reappointed.

In the Assembly of 1865 the report on the second head of the programme—that which treated of doctrine—was given in. It intimated that there had been found entire agreement between the representatives of the two Churches on all the

leading points in theology; but this agreement was expressed in the language of the Confession of Faith, and while that gave peculiar satisfaction to Dr. Gibson, the very reverse was the case so far as Dr. Wood and Dr. Forbes were concerned. They were persuaded that seriously erroneous views regarding the atonement prevailed in the United Presbyterian Church, and a motion was made and seconded by them, instructing the Committee to obtain a declaration setting forth in independent terms what was really held in that Church on the subject. The motion was lost,—184 votes against it, and only 16 in its favour. But another rift was made in the lute, and the prospects began to darken of an entirely harmonious union.

This discouraging state of things was still further intensified by Dr. Forbes, who, having failed to persuade the Assembly to direct the Committee to reopen the subject of the civil magistrate, intimated that he could no longer continue to take any part in the negotiations.

The year 1866 came, and Dr. Buchanan was able to report that all the heads of the programme had been gone over, and that satisfactory results had been reached regarding every one of them. But he now proposed only that the whole should be sent down to Presbyteries to give them an opportunity of offering any suggestion that might occur to them for the further conduct of the negotiations. The proposal was adopted with virtual unanimity, an amendment for the dismissal of the Committee receiving only seven votes, but in the course of the debate it became evident that new elements of disturbance were being introduced, and the chances of smooth sailing in the future to be exceedingly doubtful. On the one hand, for instance, Dr. Begg, the ablest and most effective speaker who had yet appeared on that side, now announced his agreement with Dr. Wood about

the lawfulness of endowments. He refused to accept that as an open question, and was willing to continue the Committee only in the hope that the Free Church members might by argument be able to convince the United Presbyterians that they were in the wrong. On the other hand, a new movement had commenced, fostered by the beginnings of an agitation for the abolition of patronage, the aim of which was to include the Established Church in the contemplated scheme of union. The idea was scouted by Mr. Dunlop, Dr. Candlish, and others, as illusory; but it caught hold, and from this time onward the existence of the Establishment affected to an appreciable extent the drift of the controversy which ensued. During the year succeeding, discussions which had hitherto been confined very much to the Assembly agitated the whole Church, and when May 1867 came round, the result was seen in the formation of a distinct Anti-Union party.

Of this party the acknowledged head was Dr. Begg, who had for nearly forty years played a great part in the social and ecclesiastical history of Scotland. He was born in the manse of New Monkland in 1808. At the age of twelve or thirteen he was sent to the University of Glasgow, where he went through the customary course in Arts and Divinity; and, after spending a year in Edinburgh under Dr. Chalmers, he was licensed to preach, in 1829, by the Presbytery of Hamilton. His popular gifts were immediately recognised. For six months he acted with great acceptance as Dr. Buchanan's assistant in North Leith, and at the end of that time he was called to a chapel in Maxwelton, where he was ordained in May 1830. Before the year closed, however, he was transferred to Edinburgh, to become the colleague of Dr. Jones in Lady Glenorchy's; and in November 1831 he was again translated to the Middle Church, Paisley. While here,

in 1832, he made his first speech in the General Assembly in favour of the proposal to consider how "the call" might be given effect to, and from that time he became so well known in the Church, that, when the important parish of Liberton was made vacant, he was invited unanimously to become its minister. This was in June 1835. When the Disruption took place he was minister of Liberton, but a *quoad sacra* parish having been formed out of it at Gilmerton, whose incumbent also came out, he was persuaded to move into Edinburgh, and to form practically a new congregation at Newington. In the church which was built there, and which was opened in November 1843, he continued to labour till his death. He was elected to the Moderator's chair in 1865.

Dr. Begg did not work always in harmony with the majority of his brethren. He took lines of his own in the Convocation, on the subject of the Sustentation Fund, and in connection with National Education and the Union. It could be proved also that he was not always consistent with himself, and that he had at times given some occasion to the world to suspect him of disloyalty to his own Church. But that he did splendid work in his day in defence of evangelical principles and for the uplifting of the people, could be questioned by no one, and all were ready to acknowledge and admire his power of popular address and his wonderful skill as an ecclesiastical leader. One of the closing events of his life was the undertaking of a long journey to Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, and India.

The energy now developed by Dr. Begg proved a most formidable obstacle to the carrying through of the scheme which had now for some years been before the Church. There can be no doubt at all that to begin with he was in favour of the Union, and saw none of the difficulties which by and by came to bulk so largely in his view. Circumstances,

however, or deeper thought, led him to a change of attitude, and to prevent the consummation of an amalgamation with the United Presbyterians except on the basis of their accepting the Free Church opinion of Establishments, became the passion of his life.

The Presbyteries had responded to the appeal made to them, and had sent in any number of suggestions—which, of course, it became the duty of the Committee to consider. But it was felt that the time had arrived when the Church behoved to say whether it was worth while to prosecute the inquiry any further, and a motion was made asking the Assembly to declare that as regarded the first head of the programme (that relating to the civil magistrate) there did not appear to be any insuperable bar to union. This motion was met by two amendments—the one, by Dr. Begg, simply requiring the Committee to continue their work so as to report on the whole subject at a future date; the other, by Dr. Nixon, on the same lines, but expressing satisfaction with what had been done, and a hope that the Union might yet be accomplished.

After a debate of two days, Dr. Begg withdrew his amendment in favour of Dr. Nixon's, and a division took place, with the result that 346 voted for the motion, and 120 against it. It was the largest minority vote which had yet been registered, and the outlook was made still more threatening when Dr. Begg tendered not a dissent, but a protest.

A controversy now began in the country, which grew increasingly bitter as time went on. The two parties started each an organ,—the Anti-Unionists being represented by the *Watchword*, the Unionists by the *Presbyterian*,—and methods of agitation were resorted to by the former (especially in the Highlands), which were regarded by those on the other side

as open to serious objection. In the pamphlets published and the speeches delivered, the changes were rung on all the heads of the programme. The United Presbyterians were charged with being unsound in doctrine, corrupt in worship, and unsafe in finance. But there was always a return to the first note, which was struck with a strength and a perseverance which compelled universal attention to it. The point could not be got over that the Church with which it was proposed to form a union held, not indeed as an article in its creed, but as a prevalent opinion, that the civil magistrate ought not to use the pecuniary resources of a nation in the maintenance of religion.

It is not wonderful that difficulties were felt in this connection by men who had been ministers in an Established Church, and who regarded themselves as having a "Claim of Right" to the position which they had sacrificed. It is a significant circumstance, however, that the men of highest mark in the Free Church all showed themselves disposed to consider favourably the new situation.

Chalmers did not live to see the opening of the Union negotiations, nor did Cunningham; but we know with what delight the former saw the signs of a drawing together of the Nonconformists of Scotland; and this is how the latter spoke so early as 1844, on his return from America. "I found," he said, "a very general admission of the *great scriptural principle for which alone we contend*, that in virtue of the principles embodied in God's word, the obligation is laid upon nations and rulers to have regard to the moral government of God as supreme, and to the welfare of the Church of Christ. *The general admission of this doctrine is all we care about.*"

But although these great men had gone, there remained Dr. Candlish, the recognised leader of the Church after

Chalmers; Mr. Dunlop, the writer of the Protest and Claim of Right; Dr. Buchanan, the historian of the Ten Years' Conflict; Dr. Charles Brown, the recognised representative of the most spiritual section of the Church; and Dr. Guthrie, the most popular preacher of the day. These all went strongly for the onward movement, looking upon the views held by the United Presbyterian Church as of no present practical significance. And how do we find them speaking?

First of all, Dr. Candlish is reported to have said in the Assembly of 1863: "I trust that those who represent the Free Church of Scotland will not be too anxious about explicit declarations as to the application of the great principles which we hold in common. If we come to a clear understanding upon a scriptural principle, let us not be trying too minutely to test one another as to this or that particular application of it, but let us *leave such questions to be settled as exigencies may actually occur in the providence of God.*"

Mr. Dunlop, on the same occasion, added: "I might be supposed to stand more rigidly upon the specific documents setting forth the distinctive principles of our Church than others, seeing I had the honour of preparing the draft of the Church's Claim of Right and Protest. I feel satisfied, however, that we and our friends [of the United Presbyterian Church] are substantially agreed."

As to Dr. Charles Brown, he delivered in 1863 a speech which Dr. Nixon described as one which "it was worth a man's while to live to have made"; and in this he said: "Does the difference respecting the lawfulness of the endowment of the Church by the State form a sufficient ground for the Churches remaining in a state of separation? I answer without hesitation, *No.* (Loud applause.) For, first, there is nothing about endowments in our Confession of Faith, or in

our Formula, even as there is nothing against endowments in the Formula of our brethren. Second, we do not hold State endowments to be anything more than simply lawful, and in certain circumstances not inexpedient. As to the spiritual freedom of the Church, on the other hand, and her independence of the State, we, along with our esteemed brethren, hold that to be a sacred principle never to be abandoned or compromised. Endowments are not a *principle* (it is perhaps a pity we ever used to speak of the Establishment *principle*); they are but one particular application of a principle. But then, thirdly, we have now no State endowments. We do not expect any. We don't desire any. (Hear, Hear! and renewed cheers.) I know that men given to deal in theories and bare logic will insist on putting the case, that our Claim of Right were by and by to commend itself to the approval of the British Legislature, and our endowments to be offered back to us on terms of perfect spiritual freedom. And they will insist on our declaring, yea or nay, whether in that event we should not be, in conscience, shut up to accept them, and become again the Established Church of the country. I might perhaps decline to trouble myself and you with a question referring to a case so purely hypothetical, and in the last degree, as I think, they themselves must admit, unlikely to be realised. But I am quite ready to meet it. I do not think our principles shut us up, even in the supposed case, to accept those offers. It would remain for the Church in her now greatly altered condition—prosperous and flourishing without the aid of the State, her lot cast in a commercial age and in a country of great wealth, circumstanced so differently every way from the Scotland of John Knox's day—to consider and determine whether, on the whole, it were not better and safer for her, and so more in accordance with the will of her Divine Head, to remain on simply friendly terms with so wonderfully pious

a Legislature as our questioners insist on imagining, but prefer withal not to accept the offered gifts. . . . Suppose, however, the emphatically unlikely case, both that those offers were made to us, and that, the two Churches having been united in holding the lawfulness of State endowments, should see it our duty to accept them, and carried the acceptance by a majority. Well, Moderator, for my part, I see nothing very fearful—even supposing such an event and if things come to the worst—about our Anti-State Church brethren and us, if still unable to see together on this vexed question, just voluntarily separating again as we voluntarily united."

These words were spoken in 1863, and in all the discussions which afterwards took place, nothing very much was ever added to them. Speeches of great length were delivered, and additional questions were from time to time brought forward for consideration—questions, for example, affecting doctrine, administration, and finance. But the battle always returned to the subject of Establishments, and in connection with that the argument was never better stated than it was put now by Dr. Charles Brown.

The division of 1867 marked a crisis in the Union movement. A step in advance was then taken which was held by the minority to commit the Church to a conclusion prematurely; a number of members of Committee forthwith resigned; and when the Assembly of 1868 met, the number of overtures and petitions laid upon its table showed that not only were all the old questions as much alive as ever, but that party spirit was even more rampant than before. Dr. Julius Wood again led the opposition. He moved in a hesitating way the reappointment of the Committee, but asked, among other things, what was virtually a repeal of the decision of last year. Such a proposal, it was felt, could not be entertained. It was vetoed by a majority of 427 to 105,

but the debate was long and keen, and now, for the first time, plain hints were given of what might be the civil consequences if the Church allowed itself to be incorporated with a body which was professedly Voluntary in its beliefs.

In 1869 a year's pause was proposed, on the motion of Dr. Fairbairn, when the report of the Committee could be published for the information of the people, and an invitation given to them to unite in prayer for the Divine guidance. This was opposed by Dr. Nixon, who, in a speech of three hours' duration, contended that the negotiations ought now to be stopped and the Committee finally dismissed. Dr. Fairbairn's motion, however, was carried by a majority of 429 to 89.

From the votes taken in successive Assemblies it was seen that the Union cause was progressing, but the agitation against it did not grow less violent. By this time the movement in the Established Church for the abolition of patronage was taking distinct shape, and was exercising in various ways a disturbing influence on the situation. The zeal for the maintenance of "the Establishment Principle" in the Free Church was regarded in political and other circles as holding out prospects of ecclesiastical reconstruction on a greater scale, and the possibility of such a thing made some less inclined than they might otherwise have been to enter into a union which would render that consummation more difficult. Extraordinary exertions, therefore, were put forth to arrest the movement. Public meetings were held. The private canvassing of congregations was resorted to. Literature of a keenly controversial kind was widely circulated. And when the Assembly of 1870 came round, the determined attitude now taken up by the Anti-Unionists was unmistakably indicated by their refusing even to debate the subject without first tabling a protest against their being bound by any con-

clusions that might be come to. It was well understood that this protest pointed to an appeal to the Civil Courts, but its presentation had effects rather the reverse of what it was expected to produce. It did not terrify the more advanced men, who went forward without regard to it, but it did more —it suppressed a middle party, which had come up with the hope of bringing about peace by means of a compromise. At first no fewer than five motions were tabled, but in the end these were reduced to two—one by Dr. Candlish, proposing to ask the Presbyteries to say whether they saw any objection to the two Churches uniting on the basis of the Confession of Faith; the other by Dr. Moody Stuart, proposing the suspension of the Union negotiations, and the appointment of a Committee to endeavour to restore peace in the Church. For the first motion 379 voted, and 144 for the second. The minority had increased from what it was in 1867, but so had the majority, and the difference between them clearly showed that the tide was still flowing.

The returns from Presbyteries, given in to the Assembly of 1871, were encouraging. 49 replied affirmatively, approving of union on the basis of the Confession; 14 replied negatively, objecting to such a union; while 12 answered in a dubious or hesitating way, so that they could hardly be classified on either side. Another step forward, therefore, might warrantably have been taken, but such an excited feeling had come to exist in the country as to raise the question of whether it would be wise to bend, at least for a time, before the storm, and in the end a motion was made, whose moderation, it was hoped, would commend itself to the minority. Sir Henry Moncreiff proposed, and Dr. Candlish seconded, that in deference to the difficulties felt by brethren, the onward movement should be arrested, and the Committee directed to promote co-operation with the existing

Churches and a spirit of unity among ourselves. But nothing would satisfy the brethren on the other side but an absolute capitulation, and they insisted in their counter motion that the Union movement should cease and the Committee be discharged. This amendment was supported in a strong speech by Dr. Nixon, who accused the opposite party of using discreditable means to gain their ends, and announced that great as the agitation in the Church had been hitherto, it was nothing to what would follow if his demands were not conceded. In the debate which succeeded, and which extended over two days, many notable speeches were delivered—one especially by Dr. Rainy, who now came conspicuously to the front as among the leading men of the Church. In the division, 435 went with Sir Henry Moncreiff, and 165 with Dr. Nixon.

When the Assembly of 1872 met, it seemed to be made manifest that Dr. Nixon's threat had been serious. A memorial was laid on the table which professed to be signed by 60,000 persons, protesting against any further talk about union, and urging a return to the state of things before 1863, in the interests of peace. The Union Committee, however, proceeded to submit its report, and on its basis a motion was proposed by Dr. Adam. During the year consideration had been given to the subject of bringing the negotiating Churches into closer practical relations with one another, and the suggestion was now made that a system of Mutual Eligibility might be adopted, under which the ministers of the different bodies might be called to congregations connected with Churches other than their own, and settled over them on their signing the formulæ which these Churches imposed. The motion to that effect was opposed with unabated vehemence, Dr. Samuel Miller of Glasgow leading the assault. But the fight on this occasion was not quite a square one. On the

one hand, Mr. George Macaulay objected to any side measure, and urged the straightforward prosecution of the Union; while, on the other, Dr. Couper of Burntisland pled for the continuance of the negotiations in the direction of co-operation, but condemned the particular kind of co-operation which had been agreed upon. Mr. Macaulay in the end withdrew his motion, and Dr. Couper's received only 51 votes. In the main division, 369 supported Dr. Adam, and 172 Dr. Miller.

In terms of the motion now carried, the question of Mutual Eligibility was submitted to Presbyteries, and another year was given to controversy all over the Church. The issue seemed a very narrow one. All idea of an incorporating union was in the meantime abandoned, and the only question remaining was whether the United Presbyterian Church might not be placed in the same position as the English Presbyterian and Colonial Churches. But to this proposal the most determined resistance was offered, and as May 1873 approached, it became known that a new disruption was contemplated by those who could not see their way to accept of it. So far had things gone, indeed, that a Hall was secured in Edinburgh to receive the protesters, who, it was expected, would be compelled to retire from the Assembly.

That this state of things was viewed by the majority with distress, it is needless to say. But the limits of reasonable concession appeared to them now to have been reached, and the resolution was come to, to abide by the decisions of the Presbyteries and to take the consequences. It is painful to think now of what these consequences might have been. Some will recall a conference of leading men on the Union side which was held in the New College Senate Hall on the eve of the Assembly, with the Earl of Dalhousie in the chair. At that time peace seemed to be impossible, and on its being

made plain that a fund would be required to meet the expected agitation, one and another of those present rose and intimated what each would be prepared to give for the object. And it is no exaggeration to say that within ten minutes thousands of pounds were placed at the disposal of the Church to carry out the conclusion to which it had come. It was one of the saddest meetings those present ever attended; the predominant feeling being not one of bitterness or exultation, but one of quiet and earnest determination to resist the tyranny of a minority, and to carry out an enterprise which was believed to be in conformity with the spirit of God.

When the Assembly met, there was no talk of compromise. The Mutual Eligibility overture had been approved by a large majority of Presbyteries, and it was well understood that its acceptance would be insisted upon. To make it, however, as little unacceptable as possible to the Anti-Unionists, the motion approving it suggested certain safeguards which made it seem impossible that any quite unsuitable minister should ever be settled over a Free Church congregation. But the motion was rejected; and Dr. Nixon, in speaking to a counter motion, went again over all the old and often traversed ground. At the same time, it was seen that although his speech was as warlike as ever, his proposals were less so. He did not object absolutely to the calling of United Presbyterian ministers if proper care was taken to see that they held Free Church principles, and he submitted an elaborate scheme whereby, through a preliminary examination, their real position might be ascertained. The concession thus implied made a reconciliation appear not impossible. A conference took place. Dr. Candlish, the mover of the Union resolution, accepted an alteration in his motion which he thought unimportant, but which, as it made the gate of entry a little

straiter, was held to be of value by the other party, and the clouds vanished. The resolutions of the majority were allowed to pass without a vote,—the minority being permitted to enter their dissent,—and the Church was saved from the scandal, within thirty years of its separate existence, of a second disruption.

The failure of the Union negotiations was a grievous disappointment to men like Candlish and Buchanan, both of whom had set their hearts on the object which they contemplated. Dr. Candlish, in his opening speech, said somewhat bitterly: "We take the attitude of beaten men. We surrender. We surrender to a minority. They have got the victory. They have compelled us to desist from prosecuting the movement toward incorporating union." But he went on to say: "The Lord's hand is in the arrest—the hand of an offended God, a God to whom we have given umbrage, against whom, in short, we have sinned. . . . I do trust there will be much humiliation, much acknowledgment of sin, and much prayer. I hope our prayer will be for the speedy revival of the Union movement. I do not expect to see it. I do not expect my beloved brother, Dr. Buchanan, to see it. I am no prophet, but I do venture to predict that you will not all be in your graves before that day comes, and that there will be a goodly remnant of you when that day comes. Sir, we cannot stem the tide of Christian opinion and Christian feeling."

Dr. Buchanan spoke with equal keenness and equal confidence. In a letter written to Dr. Cairns after the Assembly of 1873, he says: "When the time comes for resuming Union negotiations—and I am not without hope that it will come sooner than many suppose—men will be able to understand how utterly indefensible was the conduct of those by whose intemperate and groundless opposition the present delay

has been brought about. My belief is that the basis of ultimate union is now firmly laid. The common principles are broad and solid enough not only to sustain mutual eligibility but actual incorporation."

The conclusion remains, however, that in consequence of a determined opposition, the chief credit or the reverse of which is due to Dr. Begg, the movement for union which began so hopefully in 1863 was arrested, and has not again in a formal way been resumed.

It would be inexcusable to close this account without giving expression to the feeling of admiration with which the conduct of the United Presbyterian Church during the negotiations was regarded. It was a trying ordeal through which it was required to pass, its principles being often misrepresented, and its character and conduct disparaged. All the assaults made upon it it bore with patience, and none of the provocations to which it was subjected moved it to depart from the sober and settled position which it took up at the first. This equanimity it was enabled to maintain largely through the influence of its leading men—of Dr. Harper, for one, who was the Chairman of its Committee, but chiefly of Dr. John Cairns, a man who was held in the highest esteem in all the Churches, and whose piety, learning, force of character, and wisdom, gained for him the confidence and respect of all with whom he was brought into contact.

III. *The Cameronians*

When the Revolution Settlement took place in 1689, it was not found possible to gather again into one communion all the fragments of the persecuted Church of Scotland. Oppression had done its work in the way of driving into an extreme position some who otherwise would have remained loyal to the last. The earlier martyrs in dying had protested

that they not only feared God, but honoured the King; but in 1680, first in the Queensferry Paper, which was drawn up, it is supposed, by Donald Cargill, and afterwards in the Sanquhar Declaration, which was affixed to the Burgh Cross of that village by Richard Cameron, the authority of Charles II. was disowned, and war was declared against him as a tyrant and a usurper. The proclamation was an act of rebellion, but it will be remembered it was based on the same ground precisely as that which was taken up by William when he ascended the throne. But the circumstances of the two parties were very different. William's proceedings had the sanction of success. Cargill, Cameron, and Renwick were all made to expiate their audacity on the scaffold.

Anyhow, by this bold stroke for liberty, the foundations were laid of an independent Church in Scotland. The Revolution Settlement was by no means a satisfactory one, viewing it in its relations to the Church alone, but among a number of the more earnest Covenanters as much dissatisfaction prevailed with reference to the constitution under it of the State. To use the words of Mr. Hutchison, in his admirable History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church:[1] "The idea of a Covenanted nation under a Presbyterian Covenanted king had taken firm possession of their minds, and it produced a revulsion of feeling when, at the Revolution, no effort was made to bring back the vanished glory and reinstate the Covenant in its former supremacy. Instead of this, they found the newly constituted order was flagrantly at variance with the former and better, they could not acknowledge and submit to the one without rejecting the other; and so they resolved to maintain the same attitude toward the government of William as they had held toward

[1] *The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Its Origin and History.* 1680–1876. By Rev. M. Hutchison. (Paisley: J. & R. Parlane.)

that of the two preceding rulers. They would not own him as king, nor recognise his courts, nor pay the taxes imposed."

That men holding such views should keep aloof from the Revolution Church was to have been expected. The King took far too much to do with its organisation to allow of their adhering to it. Hence, when Presbyterianism was re-established, there remained outside a body of professing Christians who never seceded from this later national Church, because they never became members of it.

The early history of this remarkable communion is very curious and interesting. For many years it had no ministry; yet it maintained a vigorous life by means of local "Societies" and a "General Meeting." By and by an Established Church minister—Mr. M'Millan of Balmaghie—joined them; but for more than a generation he was left to superintend the work alone. At last another accession took place in the person of Mr. Nairn of Abbotshall. And then a Presbytery having been formed, a regular Church was constituted, and took the name of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

To begin with, it was probably stronger than it became after being organised—as seems evidenced by its members raising for the campaign in which Claverhouse fell a famous regiment, which is still maintained under the name of "The Cameronians," but its early views complexioned its whole after-position, and up till 1863 it was regarded in it as an excommunicable offence to take the oath of allegiance or to exercise the elective franchise. In that year, however, more liberal principles prevailed, and by a majority of four to one the Synod agreed to enact that "while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the Church shall cease."

In the May following—that of 1864—an invitation came to the Synod from the Joint Union Committee of the Free and U.P. Churches, inviting it to take part in the negotiations which were then proceeding. This invitation was cordially accepted. A delegation, with Dr. Goold at its head, was appointed to confer with the other Churches, and in the meetings which were subsequently held, the Reformed Presbyterians took a part which earned for them the profound respect of all their brethren.

One point was made clear to the satisfaction of the Free Church Anti-Unionists, namely, that the Reformed Presbyterians were not Voluntaries. "It is competent," they said, "to the civil magistrate, and is his duty, when circumstances render it necessary or expedient, to employ the national resources in aid of the Church, and it is competent to the Church to accept such aid." But they added: "It is not lawful for the magistrate to grant aid to the Church from the national resources merely from motives of political expediency; nor may these resources be employed for the support of truth and error indiscriminately."

Their distinctive principle was stated in the following terms: "When the civil magistrate sets himself in habitual opposition to abuse his power for the overturning of religion and the national liberties, he thereby forfeits his right to conscientious allegiance, especially in countries where religion and liberty have been placed under the protection of a righteous constitution." This principle, which seemed to be very much the same as an assertion of the natural right of rebellion against tyranny, was associated with high views of the mediatorial sovereignty of Christ. But they awakened no enmity or opposition in any quarter; and when, after the collapse of the negotiations with the United Presbyterians, the proposal was made in the Assembly of 1874 to reopen

conferences with the Reformed Presbyterians, it was assented to in the Free Church with universal satisfaction.

The adjusting of the terms of incorporation did not turn out to be difficult. All parties concerned were found to be very much of one mind in regard to the Second Reformation, the Revolution Settlement, and the Headship of Christ; and on the 25th of May 1876 the union was consummated. "It was," says Mr. Hutchison, "a day not soon to be forgotten by any who were privileged to witness or take part in its proceedings. The Scottish Church has been more distinguished by disruptions than by unions; all the more interesting was the union of the oldest and the youngest of its non-Established branches—a union carried through with such harmony and cordiality on both sides as to give good augury for the future. The spirit disclosed in all the speeches is just such as must ere long lead to union on a larger scale and to the removing of one great blot on our honoured Scottish Presbyterianism." Only one minister in the Reformed Presbyterian clergy refused to go along with his brethren, so that the amalgamation was about as complete as it was possible to be.

IV. *The Established Church*

In 1878, on the last day of its session, the Free Church Assembly received a communication from the Assembly of the Established Church. It came in the form of a minute which had been adopted in connection with the report of a Committee on Union. The minute expressed the deep sense entertained of the evils that were resulting from the prevalent divisions, and empowered the Committee "to approach other Churches with an assurance that, while the General Assembly maintain inviolate the principle of the national recognition of the Christian religion as contained in the Con-

fession of Faith, and the sacredness of the ancient religious endowments, and steadfastly adhere to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian system of church government and worship, they earnestly wish to consider what other Churches may state, in frank and friendly conference, as to the terms which at present prevent the other Churches from showing the trust now reposed in this Church alone."

This invitation to confer on the possibilities of reunion reached the Free Church Assembly at too late a stage to be formally discussed at the moment, and it was remitted to the Assembly Arrangements Committee for consideration; but Dr. Rainy, in proposing that it should be disposed of in that way, spoke of the respect with which it had been received; and Dr. Begg, in seconding the motion, indicated that he viewed not unhopefully the prospect of something satisfactory issuing out of the overtures.

In course of time the Assembly Arrangements Committee met, and, as directed, sent a reply to the communication which had been received.

The reply, which was evidently prepared with great care, was written by Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, one of the men whose memory the Free Church ought to cherish. He was a son of Lord Moncreiff, the Court of Session judge who, in 1833, proposed the Veto Act. At the Disruption he was minister of East Kilbride; but, soon after it, he was translated to Edinburgh, and settled over the Free Church which had been established in the parish (St. Cuthbert's) of which, in his day, his grandfather had been the incumbent. Sir Henry inherited the legal tastes of his family, and if he had gone to the Bar, he would no doubt have reached the Bench, which his father and brother have in succession adorned. But his gifts were not altogether lost in the

Church. He became associated with Dr. William Wilson as one of the principal Clerks of Assembly. In that capacity he was called to give advice upon all perplexing questions, he took a leading part in the debates of the period, and a manual was prepared by him which is the Church's most authoritative guide on all matters of procedure. His public engagements, however, were never allowed by him to interfere with his pastoral work. No minister ever visited his people more faithfully, and no one ever showed a heartier interest in the spiritual prosperity of the kingdom of Christ. Sir Henry was a steadfast advocate of the union which was proposed with the United Presbyterians, and he did much to further the adoption of a national system of education. But in some connections he was conservative in his tendencies, and he always hesitated to vote frankly in favour of Disestablishment. On that account, his reply to the invitation of the Established Church is all the more interesting and significant.

The reply began by intimating that the Committee cordially welcomed the communication, and expressed its sense of "the courteous and considerate manner" in which the Established Church, "after such a long estrangement," had approached the Free Church Assembly. It added that the Free Church was at one with the Established Church in lamenting the divided state of Presbyterianism in Scotland, in desiring reunion, and in its anxiety to maintain inviolate the principle of a national recognition of the Christian religion.

But, it went on to say, "the Committee feel it to be their duty frankly to call the attention of their brethren of the Established Church to the Claim of Right adopted in 1842, and to the Protest laid upon the table of the General Assembly in 1843." "It is obvious," they said, "that the terms of these documents prevent the Free Church from supporting

the maintenance of the existing Establishment as at present constituted." The Assembly addressed was then respectfully asked to consider whether it is not in that Claim and that Protest that the principles are set forth on which alone the divided sections of Presbyterianism can ever hope to be reunited. And as to the final appropriation of the endowments, that was a matter (it was argued) which would require to be reserved, if a conference was to be agreed upon, because some in the Free Church had doubts about their "sacredness," and already did not believe in the wisdom of retaining them in a united body.

This answer did not seem to have been read with great satisfaction, because some five or six years passed without any notice being taken of it. This apparent discourtesy was afterwards explained and apologised for. In 1886, the Clerk of the Established Church Assembly wrote saying that the non-acknowledgment of Sir Henry Moncreiff's communication was due to "an inexplicable mistake." But, in any case, the subject of union was not again revived until that year, when the Free Church Assembly was approached afresh.

Why the question was reopened was explained in the message itself. A Bill had been brought into Parliament for the disestablishment of the Church, and the Church had been moved to put forth extraordinary efforts to oppose its adoption. For one thing, the people were asked to sign petitions in favour of things as they are, and to these no fewer than 680,000 had appended their names. This fact, along with the proceedings of "enthusiastic public meetings," was held to be full of significance. It was held to be proved that there existed "a national attachment to the Church of Scotland," and the occasion was recognised as imposing on that Church an obligation to make a new endeavour to bring the outlying

religious communities within its pale. Accordingly, the Assembly agreed again to express its sense of the evils of division, and to assure the country of its readiness "to promote union on the basis of Establishment," and it sent to, among others, the Free Church, an intimation to the effect that, while it continued to maintain inviolate "the principle of the national recognition of religion as contained in the Confession of Faith, and the sacredness of the ancient religious endowments," it was "heartily willing and desirous to take all possible steps, consistent with the maintenance of an Establishment of religion, to promote the reunion of Churches having a common origin, adhering to the same Confession and the same system of government and worship."

Three days before this communication was submitted for consideration to the Free Church Assembly, a division had taken place on what had become a constantly recurring question, that of the relation of the Church to the State, and by a majority of 450 to 99, it had been agreed to maintain the declarations already again and again come to as to the propriety and necessity of Disestablishment and Disendowment in Scotland. This put the Church in an attitude which seemed to indicate that to the message from the Established Church only one reply was possible; and Dr. Rainy, in suggesting the form of reply to be sent, stated plainly the difficulty which presented itself. Any conference which might be entered into, was, it appeared, to be hampered by a preliminary condition. Reunion was proposed only on "the basis of Establishment," and the endowments were to be regarded as "sacred." There was no use, he held, in meeting to discuss conceivable plans of union if the whole field was thus not to be left open. Reunion under Disestablishment was at least a debatable theory, and there was no propriety in excluding it from consideration.

It was not easy to dispute the force of this reasoning, and Dr. John M'Ewan admitted as much even when he proceeded to make a counter motion. But there was something in his contention. He argued that, in resolving as was proposed, the Church would be turning its back upon itself. Sir Henry Moncreiff had written in 1878, commending the Claim of Right to the Established Church as containing the only hopeful basis of union, and now a new difficulty of an entirely different order was being brought forward. For the present, however, Dr. M'Ewan gave way. He and others entered their dissent from the conclusion proposed, and Dr. Rainy's motion was agreed to without a division.

At a later stage, when the Established Assembly wrote apologising for its neglect six years before, and transmitting the deliverance which had then been come to, it was inferred that a desire existed for further correspondence, and the Assembly Arrangements Committee was empowered to represent the Free Church if anything more required to be said.

When the Assembly of 1887 came round, the Arrangements Committee had an interesting report to submit. The Established Church Assembly had appointed a Church Interests Committee, with Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Convener. The main purpose of this Committee was the defence of the Establishment—the maintenance of the Church and State connection. But its Convener, whose father took a leading part on the Evangelical side before the Disruption, and whose mother lived and died a Free Churchwoman, and who himself has always shown that he has at heart the welfare, in the highest sense, of his country, was honestly persuaded that by the reconstruction of the Church of Scotland in his way, the cause of Christ in the land could be best promoted, and in furthering the reunion negotiations, therefore, he believed that he was caring in the surest way for the true "interests"

of his own communion. Animated by this feeling, in November 1886, his Committee sent a more urgent and, if possible, a more kindly communication than before. It intimated that the offer made to the Free Church and other Churches, "to give effect to the recent remarkable manifestations of the desire of the people of Scotland to bring about the reunion of Scottish Presbyterians on the basis of Establishment," was still open, and it expressed its unwillingness "to construe the reply of the Free Church as actually closing the door of reconciliation." With regard to the proposal that in any conferences which might be held, the question of Disestablishment should be treated as open, the Committee did not think it necessary to enter into argument. "Such a discussion would have no common ground on which to proceed. If the Free Church would consider the present state of Scotland in the light of the Standards common to both Churches, of the Claim of Right, and of the recent abolition of patronage, a conference might be profitable, and union the possible result; but no good could come from acceptance of what the Free Church actually suggests. The Church of Scotland would be false to her trust if she accepted a proposal which would even seem to imperil the religious advantages secured to the people of Scotland by the Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union."

To this appeal the Arrangements Committee reported to the Assembly that they had replied. They had expressed satisfaction at the reference made to the Claim of Right, although they did not know how far that reference was to be held as implying acquiescence in its terms. As to the other points, however, the question of what was the present duty of the Free Church had been again and again discussed in the light of the state of Scotland, the Standards common to the Churches, and the Act abolishing patronage, and the conclusion come to was that no solution was possible but Disestablish-

ment for existing difficulties. Regret, therefore, was expressed that the communication from the Established Church could be viewed as nothing less than a direct negative, although all that the Free Church had asked was simply that the conference should be "on the whole case." With the reply thus given, all the members of Committee had not been satisfied, and three ministers and two elders entered their dissent from it, holding that sufficient importance was not being given to the place now assigned to the Claim of Right, and that too much stress was laid upon the circumstance that a majority in the Assembly had voted for Disestablishment.

After the report had been submitted, an interesting debate took place. Principal Brown moved that "any proposal to engage in negotiations regarding the Scottish Church question, excluding from consideration the solution repeatedly declared by the Church to be necessary, must be regarded as an unfortunate way of dealing with a great question, and as wholly unfitted to promote a worthy, intelligent, and harmonious settlement of it." This was seconded by Bailie Dickson.

On the other hand, Sheriff Jameson, in a long and able speech, argued that a new element had been introduced into the negotiations by the offer which had been made to look at the situation in the light of the Claim of Right, and proposed that the conference should be agreed to on the conditions suggested by the Established Church. This motion was seconded by Dr. William Balfour.

It was undeniable that a great deal could be said for this last position. Sir Henry Moncreiff, in his first answer to the overtures received, had commended the Claim of Right to his correspondents as containing the only possible basis of union, and the Free Church was bound to recognise the concession which had been made to it. But, on the other hand, as Dr. Laughton pointed out, Sheriff Jameson and his friends were

putting quite an unwarrantable interpretation on the concession. It was assumed that the Established Church was now prepared to meet the Free Church and discuss the Claim of Right with it. He saw no indication to that effect. The only proposal was to consider the question of admitting the Free Church to a share of the endowments in the light of the Claim of Right. But there were other things in the Claim of Right that would require to be alluded to; and, added Dr. Laughton, "If the Established Church comes forward and offers to meet us in conference on the whole subject of the Claim of Right—what is our standing under it and what is theirs—*the Free Church will not decline the offer.*"

After all, however, the question practically was a very simple one. What would have been done immediately after the Disruption it is now impossible to guess. A reconstructed Establishment would then probably have been generally welcomed. But breaches, as one has often occasion to remark, are much more easily made than healed. A separation of over forty years had led men in the Free Church to new thoughts and new experiences, and a reunion to the State had no longer its former attractions for them. It was not that a theoretic Voluntaryism had come to prevail. The great mass of the ministers and members of the Free Church were just as much persuaded as ever that there are conditions on which nations may give material support to the Church. But such support has come to be seen to be less indispensable than was once believed,—its acceptance has been found often to involve secular control,—and with so many Presbyterians in the country who have conscientious objections to Establishments, and who would be left outside in the event of the Free Church consenting on the terms to reconciliation proposed, it has come to be a very prevalent conviction that Disestablishment is now the only

possible road to union. To this conclusion the Assembly on the present occasion came, because Dr. Brown's motion was carried by a majority of 322 to 66.

Since 1887 no authorised attempts have been made to bring about a union of the Free and Established Churches. But more or less private efforts have been put forth with that end in view. A Laymen's League, for example, has been formed, to which a considerable amount of support appears to be given, and Bills have been prepared for Parliament with the object of removing Free Church difficulties to re-establishment. It is an open secret, also, that a conference of men representing the three principal Scottish Churches have been in session, with Disestablishment as so far an open question; but the result is, at the present date, quite uncertain. There exists, however, a very earnest and widespread desire to see the divisions of Presbyterianism brought to an end, and the hope is cherished that, sooner or later, that desire may be fulfilled.

Hitherto we have spoken of negotiations for union—of efforts made by the Churches directly and professedly in favour of reconciliation. But the overtures referred to do not represent the only or the earliest endeavours made by the Established Church to undo the mischief of 1843.

Allusion has already been made to the circumstance that the appearance of a strong anti-Union party in the Free Church had brought to light the fact that there were not a few in that Church who held decided views in favour of Establishments. This fact seems to have suggested the idea that something might be done to bring such persons back to the national pale. At first the baits were simple enough. All that was attempted was the passing of an Act allowing parish churches to call Free or United Presbyterian ministers, and employing the unexhausted teinds in the support of any

new men who might be brought into the fold. But afterwards wider schemes came to be entertained. The "Veto with reasons" was not working satisfactorily in the country. New privileges were being conferred upon the people of the land politically. And the leading men of the Establishment grew to be convinced that if the Church was ever again to be what it once was, patronage must be abolished.

It was a remarkable conclusion which was thus come to, but the movement which now began was, so far, a perfectly natural one, and no one would have blamed the parties who promoted it, if they had proceeded to work in a wise and generous way. But the manner in which the agitation for the object was prosecuted was, to say the least of it, exceedingly unfortunate, and consequences have followed which we may say were certainly not anticipated.

In the first place, the other Churches in Scotland were in no way recognised as having any interest in the arrangement of a fresh concordat with the State. The question of patronage was intimately connected with the previous history of all of them. It was, in fact, largely due to the pressure of that evil that they were then in a position of separation. And yet, here was one section of the Church in Scotland—whose own relation to patronage had been, to say the least of it, peculiar — proposing a radical change in the situation solely in its own interest. It is vain to say, in excuse for this, that the Established Church assumed that the other Churches would refuse to confer with it on the subject. Ten years later and more, it did not think of such a difficulty when it made overtures to the Free Church to join with it in trying to reconstruct the Establishment. The fact cannot be blinked that the movement was a purely selfish one, and, as such, one from which satisfactory results could not reasonably have been expected.

That this was the light in which the agitation was viewed by spectators outside, was shown by the pointed questions and remarks with which the deputation from the Church was received by the Prime Minister of the day. That Minister was Mr. Gladstone, regarding whom this must be said, even by his enemies, that he knew something about Scotland and its ecclesiastical history. He asked the deputation if the other Churches had been communicated with, and on his being answered in the negative, he said: "Speaking of the Scottish Church, I think it would be said of those who went through this struggle twenty-six years ago, that the ecclesiastical property should be made over to those who bore earlier testimony to the principle of anti-patronage, namely, the Free Church in 1843, and the various seceding bodies now forming the United Presbyterian Church."

This was a view of the case which does not seem to have occurred to the parties concerned, and yet it was one which the common sense of the time might have suggested. In any case, it was the view which prevailed to a large extent in the Free Church.

"If the Established Church was right in 1843," wrote Lord Ardmillan to his friend Mr. David Maclagan, "there is no need for this measure [that of abolishing patronage]. If it was wrong in 1843, which it has never yet acknowledged, then observe its position. Dwelling in the manses quitted, and enjoying the stipends surrendered by the Free Church, a confession of error and wrong may be made cheaply, as they retain all which the errors and the wrong procured. See the king's speech in "Hamlet"—

> "'But oh! what form of prayer
> Can serve my turn? Forgive me the foul murder.
> But I have still the effects for which I did the murder:
> My crown, my own ambition, and my queen.
> Can one be pardoned who retains the offence?'"

It is needless now to speculate on what might conceivably have happened if the Established Church, recognising the existence of a crisis in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, had proposed a conference of all the Presbyterian bodies; but this is demonstrable, that it was a fatal mistake to ignore, in the circumstances, the existence of these bodies, and to proceed as if its own individual interests were alone concerned.

But this is not the only feature in the movement which one remembers with wonder. Another curious element in it was the manner in which it was prosecuted. When the deputation waited in 1870 on Mr. Gladstone to urge the abolition of patronage, Dr. Norman Macleod, who headed it, asked for the boon *on the ground that the Scottish people had always been opposed to its continuance*, and that so eager were those he represented to promote the unity of the Church, there was nothing they were not prepared to do in order to accomplish it. Dr. Macleod further said, that in 1843 "there was no sacrifice he and his brethren would not have made, and no legislative Act they would not have accepted, rather than have had the Secession."

This last declaration was read by those who had themselves passed through the conflict, with the utmost astonishment. They remembered how a pathetic appeal had been made by Dr. Candlish in the Assembly of 1842, asking the Moderate party to allow the Veto Act to remain undisturbed for the sake of peace, and how that appeal evoked from those addressed no answer whatever. There was evidently now a late repentance. Things were so changed that Dr. Macleod and his friends were willing to go a great deal farther, and make a sacrifice even of patronage itself. But it was too much for them now to be claiming that they had been of the same mind always.

Even a more extraordinary thing, however, happened on

this occasion. It was that the abolition of patronage was pled for on grounds which confounded those who read of them. To these Dr. Robert Buchanan called attention, in an article which he contributed at the time to *The Presbyterian.*

"Have those," he asked, "who strained at the gnat of Non-Intrusion, made up their minds to swallow popular election? Nothing, surely, but some unusual stress of weather could have brought together such contraries. . . . '*The claim,*' say they, '*for the abolition of patronage has become historical or hereditary in the Church—the Church has ever on principle maintained the right of the people to have a vote in the appointment of her ministers*'!" No wonder the *Scotsman* felt its breath taken away by this astounding statement coming from such a quarter. "What do you say?" it exclaimed,—"*the Church has always opposed patronage!* What Church? Certainly the Free Church, the Secession Churches, the Covenanting Church, but never (until last year) the Church that is now speaking — the Church of the Hills and Cooks and Robertsons and Mearns and Bryces and Macfarlanes! From the middle of last century down to 1869, the policy of the Moderates has been identified with patronage. And of the disingenuousness of the statement it is unnecessary to say more."

It is certain that if Mr. Gladstone had remained in power, the appeal made to the Government on behalf of the Established Church would not have been complied with without a preliminary inquiry being instituted into the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland. Probably a Royal Commission would have been appointed to take evidence from all quarters, and lasting good might have been the result. As it was, a turn of the wheel brought in the Conservatives, and then all was plain sailing for the Church.

A Bill was rushed through the House of Commons, and quietly accepted by the House of Lords, transferring patronage from those possessing it to a new set of constituents—not acknowledging that "it appertains to the people to choose their own ministers," but conferring, as if it were a civil franchise, the right to vote in elections, upon adherents of congregations as well as communicants.

The Bill was passed, there can be no doubt, in the interest of union. That it would contribute to a restoration of the unity of the Church was one of the pleas used by Dr. Norman Macleod in his interview with the Prime Minister. But the union which was hoped for was not to be the result of negotiation. What was expected was the absorption of the Free Church. By presenting what Dr. Kennedy called "a colourable imitation of our banner," it was assumed that members in greater or smaller numbers would be attracted to the Establishment, and that by this process of depletion its strength would gradually decay. It was even thought that by the change the Church would be made so strong as to tend to dissolve even the Voluntary communions.

The results have not been all that was looked for. A new spirit of activity has been awakened in the Church itself, and it is in various ways stronger than it was in 1874. But the Churches outside have not been affected, while it is from that year that the commencement may be dated of the Disestablishment agitation which, previously, can hardly be said to have taken shape. The Established Church was now regarded, in fact, as having challenged those who had separated from it, to approve anew of its constitution, and the fresh examination thus forced upon them of its claims has only tended to deepen and confirm the doubts before existing as to its right in equity to its position.

It is now generally conceded that, sooner or later, Dis-

establishment must come. And when that time arrives, a reunion of all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches will be no more difficult here than it has been in the Colonies. Some talk as if then Episcopacy will be strengthened, and several ministers have even intimated that, rather than join the Nonconforming Churches, they will attach themselves to the Church of England. But the loss of such men will not be irreparable, and Presbyterianism has too strong a hold on the people of Scotland to be finally abandoned by them.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF THE CRITICAL MOVEMENT

IN 1869 a vacancy was caused in the Hebrew Chair at Aberdeen by the death of Professor Sachs, and no fewer than ten men were named as candidates for the post. Of the ten, however, only six were proposed in the Assembly of 1870, and the final vote was taken between Mr. Robertson Smith and Mr. (now Professor) Salmond. Ultimately, Mr. Smith was carried, by a majority of 139. The conclusion was rather a remarkable one, because Mr. Salmond was nominated by Dr. William Wilson and seconded by the Earl of Dalhousie, while Mr. Smith's claims were represented by two men whose position in the Church was very much less conspicuous, Dr. James Walker of Carnwath and Captain Shepherd. But already Mr. Smith's reputation was extraordinarily high. Though quite a young man, his career at college had been peculiarly brilliant, and Dr. Walker made the most of the distinctions he had gained in his eulogistic speech. The result, in any case, was what has been indicated. Mr. Smith led from the first in all the divisions, and in the end he was elected professor with, it may be said, a large measure of satisfaction and even of enthusiasm.

Nor, to begin with, was any cause for question given as to the wisdom of the appointment. Professor Smith not only conducted his class well, but made himself known outside as a very competent scholar, and those in the Church who took

an interest in the Colleges felt greatly gratified when it became known that he had been invited to write the Biblical Articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Smith, as he was bound to do, had been keeping himself abreast of the critical literature of the day, and the very first paper which he contributed to the *Encyclopædia* showed that the advanced views which had become current in Germany and Holland were affecting his own opinions as to the history and character of the Bible. That paper discussed the subject of "Angels," and in its account of the development of the scriptural idea of their origin, a question was suggested to some minds as to whether their personal existence was believed in by the writer. It was also commented on as suspicious that in such an article no notice was taken of the angels who fell. Little stress, however, was laid upon these points, and they would probably never have been heard of, if there had not come by and by the issue of a much more famous contribution—that on the "BIBLE" itself.

This article, when its contents came to be understood, produced throughout the Church a widespread feeling of alarm. To appreciate the condition of things, it is necessary to remember that at this time the Free Church had the reputation of being perhaps the most orthodox communion in Christendom. Other Churches had their Broad schools, but in it there was hardly one man who had shown a disposition to leave the old paths; and although here and there were scholars who knew that a storm was coming, they had not tried to disturb the prevailing peace, or had not succeeded to any extent in breaking in upon it. It need cause no surprise, then, that a violent commotion was produced when a professor wrote an article in which no reference was made to the supernatural origin of the Bible, and in

which the composition of several books was dealt with in the very freest manner, as if they had been put together by the wit of man alone. With criticism of this sort the Church was entirely unacquainted. If the plan had been followed of opening the door more gradually, the alarm would have been less. But as it was, the blow fell without warning; and until the dust which was raised had somewhat settled, it was impossible that the true issue which was raised could be clearly seen.

Among the positions thus flung, as we may describe it, into the heart of the Church, and put forward, not in a fugitive journal, but in a work intended to record conclusions which had been definitely reached, were the following:—That the current traditions as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, etc., are quite unreliable; that "the history, as we have it, is not one narrative carried on from age to age by successive additions, but a fusion of several narrations which partly cover the same ground, and were combined into unity by an editor"; that "beyond doubt the Book of Deuteronomy is a prophetic legislative programme, and if the author put his work in the mouth of Moses instead of giving it, with Ezekiel, a directly prophetic form, he did so not in pious fraud, but simply because his object was, not to give a new law, but to expand and develop Mosaic principles in relation to new needs"; that the poetical books, like the historical, are anonymous, and copyists have taken great liberties with them; that of the Psalms, only two or three can with any confidence be ascribed to David; that far too much has been made of the predictive element in the Prophets (they were, in fact, preachers speaking to their own times); and that the synoptical Gospels were not written by the men whose names they bear, but were "non-apostolic digests of spoken and written apostolic tradition."

These are specific points, but by the whole strain of the article the idea was strongly suggested that the Bible is a patchwork of a remarkable kind,—"a stratification, and not an organism,"—and that hardly any part of it can be accepted as being what it now seems to be.

Such a statement of the situation, coming from the quarter it did, could scarcely pass unchallenged. The teaching in the article was brought under the notice of the College Committee, and a special report upon it was submitted to the Assembly of 1877. The report intimated that the Committee "had not found in the article any ground sufficient to support a process for heresy against Professor Smith," but it specified various points in it which had been viewed with dissatisfaction. Among these was the fact "that the article does not adequately indicate that the Professor holds the doctrine of the Divine inspiration of the books whose history he investigates and describes." The Committee also said that they regarded "with grave concern" his account of the origin of Deuteronomy; "the hypothesis of inspired personation applied to the contents of such a book appearing to them highly questionable in itself and in its consequences." And they concluded by adding that they could not "withhold the expression of their opinion, that the article, in opposition to Professor Smith's avowed intention, is of a dangerous and unsettling tendency."

This report, although it was first brought under the notice of the Assembly only in 1877, was published six months before, and transmitted by the Commission, in March, to Mr. Smith's own Presbytery of Aberdeen. That Presbytery was asked to examine the article "Bible," and any other writings issued by the Professor, and so help the Church to a conclusion as to the character of the teaching for which he was becoming responsible. Professor Smith was accordingly

invited by the Presbytery to explain his position, and in connection with some questions which certain members proposed to put to him, but which were disallowed, an appeal was taken from the Presbytery to the General Assembly. .

In this way—at once by the College Committee and the Aberdeen Presbytery—the subject of Mr. Smith's teaching came formally for the first time, in 1877, under the review of the Supreme Court of the Church.

There a debate ensued, in the course of which the position of the two parties in the case came to be very clearly defined. Dr. William Wilson moved that, pending the carrying through of the inquiry at Aberdeen, Mr. Smith be suspended; while Dr. James Candlish proposed that in the meantime the Presbytery be left unhindered to complete its investigations. The first motion was carried by a majority of 378 out of a total of 491, only 113 voting for the second. But in the discussion the speaking was not confined to the point of order. It was allowed to deal with the merits, and there was thus revealed at the very outset the different points of view from which the situation was regarded.

On the one hand, it was held that on the subject of Biblical Introduction the last word had by no means been spoken. It was also contended that a working Church like ours was not likely to furnish many scholars competent to throw any independent light upon the matter. When, therefore, one appeared to be raised up among us whose knowledge and abilities were equally remarkable, what it became us to do was to look upon the gift with interest and thankfulness. This was the position which was taken up in the strongest way by Dr. Whyte, who, in the College Committee, insisted that "the traditions and prepossessions of those who cannot be familiar with critical and scientific questions" ought not to be "allowed to trammel the hand and brand the names of

men who are doing some of the Church's selectest and most delicate work." No doubt, in the course of their inquiries, such men might make what to the popular mind would be unpleasant discoveries; but, after all, it is the truth that is wanted, and that must be submitted to at whatever cost.

Clear expression was also given to these views by one whose interest in evangelical religion could not be questioned —Mr. Ferguson of Kinmundy. He said, in seconding Dr. Candlish's motion: "Since the article 'Bible' appeared, the world has opened its eyes with astonishment to find that there was a minister of the Free Church of Scotland capable of going into such an investigation. The position of this Church had been heightened in the literary world and in the world of theological inquiry by the noble efforts made, he did not say by Professor Smith alone, but by him and others, in the direction he had indicated. But while they must vindicate free thought, free investigation, free expression of opinion, to his mind there was another very serious thing they had to look to, and that was that there was a necessary education required to receive the results of free investigation aright; and that there were very few indeed, even in their own Church, that were in that position—who were capable of calmly and candidly examining these positions. Even our Lord Himself, when teaching His disciples, felt it necessary to say to them, 'I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.' They were all old enough to remember there were questions, now settled, both in science and theology, which were once held in gravest doubt. He made these remarks on the general question; he did not enter into the merits on this occasion. He wished to say, for the clearance of his own position, that he did not accept all the results which Professor Smith had indicated in his article 'Bible' and in other articles. But then he had to

add that he had not seen the process by which he had come to these results."

Such was the position of those who were prepared to stand by Professor Smith. They did not all accept his teaching, or think that he had chosen the fittest channel through which to give it forth, and many of them were more or less annoyed by the want of consideration which he had shown for the prejudices of his brethren. But they were proud of his gifts. They thought he was at liberty, and indeed bound, to exercise these as he had done. And they argued that if he had gone astray, the proper course to follow was not to threaten him with ecclesiastical censures, but to answer him in an ordinary way.

On the other hand, there were many who persuaded themselves that the authority of the Bible as a Divine revelation was in peril. They regarded it as a serious defect in an article which professed to describe the construction of Scripture, that it gave no hint of its chief peculiarity that it was inspired, and that it handled its books with a freedom which could not have been greater if its authorship had been entirely human. They did not call in question Professor Smith's own faith. The assurances which he gave that his peculiar views had not affected his own belief in the Divine origin of the Bible were freely accepted. But the condition of the minds of ordinary people had, it was thought, to be considered, and the conviction grew that some of the theories set forth in the *Encyclopædia* could not, in their case, coexist with a sincere belief in biblical inspiration. This conclusion was come to in view of what was taught about the Pentateuch generally, namely, that Mosaism is not the starting-point, but the goal of Old Testament history. But the special stumbling-block was found in the account given of Deuteronomy. That book, it was said, is not at all what

it seems to be—a genuine report by Moses himself of what he said on the edge of the wilderness, but a very much later work, composed by a prophet or company of prophets in league with certain priests, and issued, as with the authority of Moses, in order to promote the interests of the central sanctuary. It was admitted that thus the people were imposed upon, and the natural conclusion was suggested that for generations the Jews must have been the victims of a fraud. But this conclusion was disputed. It was argued that "on the face of it the Pentateuch [and more particularly Deuteronomy] is a case of literary construction on principles which are extremely foreign to our habits of thought"; and it could not be doubted there were believing critics who honestly accepted the theory that a book with such a history was God-inspired. This position, however, many could not bring their minds to assent to. They admitted that the critics might be right about the origin of the book. Perhaps it was written in Josiah's time by astute men, who put it into the mouth of Moses for effect; but if that was the case, they could not believe that it had any title to a place in the Bible, and as they were not able to agree to its exclusion without a pang, they stood in doubt about a kind of teaching which put them in this dilemma.

What to do, however, with a professor whose teaching was so revolutionary, was now the question which pressed for a settlement. Dr. Rainy, so early, saw the only possible solution of the case. The College Committee had intimated its belief that Mr. Smith could not be proved a heretic—that is, it could not be shown that he had expressly contradicted the Confession of Faith. But it seemed to him out of the question that a Church by some other course could not protect itself against any serious evil, and he supported the proposal of Dr. Wilson as "an act of policy and administra-

tion." To this aspect of the case Dr. Candlish and his friends refused to give any heed. They insisted that if Mr. Smith's mouth was to be closed as a Free Church professor, it ought to be as the result of a judicial process, and they dissented from the motion carried — specifically on that ground. They failed for the moment to secure assent to their point. The Assembly resolved, in the exercise of what was afterwards called its "reserve of power," that whatever happened, Mr. Smith should not be allowed to teach until his position had been fully ascertained. But this display of sovereignty was immediately followed by what appeared to be a universal acquiescence in the theory of the minority— that to justify the removal of Mr. Smith from his chair, he behoved to have established against him a charge of heresy. Before the debate began, the Professor had intimated that he meant to demand a libel, and in course of time the demand was actually conceded and a libel prepared.

The history of the process thus begun was not a very happy one. The Westminster divines had not anticipated the raising of such questions as the critics were now sending abroad, or they probably would, in one way or another, have endeavoured to provide for them. For the same or other reasons, they had not defined specifically what they understood by inspiration. And it was well, perhaps, that it was so arranged. It could not possibly have been a wise thing for any Church to make a term of communion of such points as the age or authorship of the books of the Bible. Nobody can foresee what may come to be discovered in these connections, and it would have been an awkward thing for a community to find itself stranded in a position which, by the simple advance of scholarship, had been proved to all to be untenable. This was not seen so clearly as it might perhaps have been when the prosecution of Professor Smith began,

and the consequence was the framing of a libel so cumbrous and elaborate that it read rather like a treatise than an indictment.

As originally drawn, the libel contained three general and eight particular charges. The former were as follows:—(1) The publishing and promulgating of opinions which contradict, or are opposed to, doctrines set forth in the Scriptures and the Confession of Faith; (2) The publishing and promulgating of opinions which are in themselves of a dangerous and unsettling tendency in their bearing on doctrines set forth in Scripture and the Confession; and (3) The publishing writings concerning the books of Scripture which by their neutrality of attitude in relation to doctrines set forth in the Scriptures and the Confession, and by their rashness of statement in regard to the critical construction of the Scriptures, tend to disparage the Divine authority and inspired character of these books. The particular charges referred to —the institution of the Aaronic priesthood; the date of Deuteronomy; the historical reliableness of Chronicles; the view taken of Job, Jonah, and Esther; the interpretation put upon Canticles; the denial of the Davidic authorship of almost all the Psalms; the free criticism to which the Psalms were subjected; the disparagement of the predictive element in the prophecies; and the account given of the origin of the angels.

If those who undertook the prosecution of Professor Smith had been wise enough to follow the simple plan adopted at Montreal in connection with the charge which was brought there against Dr. Campbell, the issue might have been different from what it was, There were just two counts in his indictment, one of which was this: "You hold and teach a view of the Holy Scriptures which impugns and discredits them as the supreme and infallible source of religious truth." That charge would have been relevant,

and might have been proved. But, as it was, an immense amount of time and talent and temper was wasted, in the various Courts of the Church, on the question of the relevancy of the indictment, and it was only in 1879 that the libel, after undergoing various amendments, was at last adopted by the General Assembly, and ordered to be served on Mr. Smith, with a view to proof, by the Presbytery of Aberdeen. The libel, however, was now reduced to one charge, —the second particular, under the first general count,—and amounted to this, that Professor Smith was accused of promulgating "the opinion that the book of inspired Scripture called Deuteronomy, which is professedly an historical record, does not possess that character, but was made to assume it by a writer of a much later age, who therein, in the name of God, presented, in dramatic form, instructions and laws as proceeding from the mouth of Moses, though these never were, and never could have been, uttered by him."

The motion to proceed with this indictment—made by Dr. Andrew Bonar and seconded by Dr. Bannerman of Perth—was only carried by a majority of one. That might seem in the circumstances rather an unexpected conclusion. But it did not indicate that the Church was making up its mind to abandon the prosecution. The counter motion, which failed, did not propose to drop the libel altogether. It simply asked that in view of the novelty and perplexity of the case, the Assembly—before proceeding further with the libel—should appoint a representative Committee to consider what course it would be best to follow, and to report. The majority, though a small one, said, in effect, that it was opposed to any delay.

What happened in the year which followed, however, secured so far the end aimed at in the minority motion. No progress was then made toward the conviction of Mr.

Smith of heresy. When the Presbytery met, he appeared with certain pleas in law, on the strength of which he contended that the Court was not entitled to proceed to probation. He held that the Assembly had framed what was virtually a new libel, and yet had failed to follow its own rules by furnishing him with a copy and summoning him afresh to say what he thought about it. The Presbytery first, and afterwards the Synod, admitted by majorities that there did seem something in the pleas, and as they did not consider themselves competent to pronounce judicially upon them, they decided to sist procedure and refer the matter to the Assembly. Against this judgment a minority protested and appealed; and when the Supreme Court met in 1880, this was the question which came first to be debated: Had such a change been made upon the libel as to raise anew the point of its relevancy? On a division taking place, the negative was carried by 383 to 164, and the Assembly afresh pronounced the libel to be ripe for probation. But it had become very plain that to remit the case again to the Presbytery would simply involve another year of worry. The Church was growing weary of the agitation, and Sir Henry Moncreiff proposed that the Assembly itself should now consider seriously how best to bring the case to a conclusion.

Accordingly, at a subsequent stage in its proceedings, the matter was taken up again, and a whole day was devoted to a discussion of the question of what it was now wise to do. Four motions were made in this connection,—one by Sir Henry Moncreiff, that as Professor Smith "no longer retains that measure of confidence on the part of the Church which is necessary to the edifying and useful performance of his professorial work," he be relieved of his office; a second by Dr. Laidlaw, declaring the views promulgated by Professor

Smith to be not those of the Free Church, but inasmuch as they do not directly contradict the doctrine of the Confession, replacing him in his chair with an admonition; a third by Dr. Begg, to the effect that the Assembly proceed to probation; and a fourth, which, as it was that which carried, we give entire:—

"The General Assembly, considering that the course of the case has confirmed the report of the College Committee, that they had not found any ground sufficient to justify a process for heresy against Professor Robertson Smith, inasmuch as seven of the eight counts in the original libel have been found irrelevant, while with regard to the remaining count the explanation offered by Professor Smith at various stages, and in particular his answer to the amended libel, afford satisfactory evidence that, in this aspect of the case also, there is no sufficient ground to support a process for heresy, do resolve to withdraw the libel against him. Further, the Assembly, finding that Professor Smith is blameworthy for the unguarded and incomplete statements of his articles, which have occasioned much anxiety in the Church and given offence to many brethren, zealous for the honour of the word of God, instruct the Moderator to admonish Professor Smith with due solemnity as to the past, in the confident expectation that the defects referred to will be guarded against and avoided in time to come. And finally, the Assembly declares that, in declining to decide on these critical views by way of discipline, the Church expresses no opinion in favour of their truth or probability, but leaves the ultimate decision to future inquiry, in the spirit of patience, humility, and brotherly charity, admonishing professors to remember that they are not set for the propagating of their own opinions, but for the maintenance of the doctrine and truth committed to the Church."

After several divisions had been taken, it was found that this last motion had carried over that of Sir Henry Moncreiff by a majority of 9—the whole number voting being 593. In the minority were Dr. Rainy, Dr. Adam, Sheriff Campbell, the law adviser of the Church, and others; while Dr. Begg, Dr. Kennedy, and a number of their followers did not vote at all. The whole membership of the House was 747. The conclusion reached was unexpected, and the exultation of Professor Smith's friends was unbounded. For a time the conduct of the business was absolutely arrested, and nothing was heard but cheers, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. But by and by things settled down, because there was a part of the motion which required at once to be carried into effect. That was the solemn admonition from the chair. To receive this, Mr. Smith was called in, and was saluted with great applause, the multitude rising to express their satisfaction with the apparently happy ending of a painful case. It was a trying position for a Moderator to be placed in—to be required to admonish "with due solemnity" one who was at the moment the object of an ovation; but Dr. Main, who presided, said a few suitable words, and Mr. Smith replied, thanking God for the issue of the evening, but confessing that he was greatly to blame for "statements which had proved so incomplete that, at the end of three years, the opinion of the House had been so divided upon them."

There can be no doubt that, throughout the Church, what seemed the ending of the strife gave general satisfaction. Many would have been better pleased with another issue, but they were prepared cheerfully to acquiesce in the conclusion come to, and looked forward with hope to a new and quieter career for the brilliant scholar, who had, unfortunately, been so provocative in his earlier teaching.

It was, then, with not a little astonishment that in the very next part of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which was published after the Assembly, there appeared an article on the "Hebrew Language and Literature," containing matter more fitted to offend the conservative section of his Church than anything he had previously written.

How the existence of such a paper was forgotten by its author when he made his touching speech at the close of the Assembly, it is impossible to guess. It looked as if he had counted on another conclusion, and had made up his mind to go forward as he had begun. But, in any case, this seems certain, that if he had even now expressed regret for the new provocation, the aversion of the Church to reopen the prosecution was great enough to have moved it to overlook the offence. He was in no mood to do this, however. First of all, there came a long silence, as if he hoped that the cry which had arisen might die down of itself; and then a letter was received from him by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, which virtually intimated that, with him, the era of concession was past. He declared that, in his view, the General Assembly had condoned all his teaching, and was prepared to support him in writing as he had done.

"Since I wrote the article on 'Hebrew Language and Literature,'" said he, "the Assembly has given a final decision on the question whether the critical views for which I was libelled are inconsistent with office in the Free Church. . . . The Church declines to make those views matters of discipline, and leaves the ultimate decision as to what truth they contain, to future inquiry, in the spirit of patience, humility, and brotherly charity. This decision enabled myself and those who held my views to remain at our posts with a clear conscience, and to return to our work in the Church with fresh vigour."

The assumption here made startled his brethren, and among others, Dr. Laidlaw. He was still for peace; but in the motion he now made in that interest, he contended "that the views of Professor Smith are not acquiesced in by the Church, and are not tolerated in any other sense than that she declines to make the past promulgation of them by Professor Smith the ground for any judicial action."

The Professor, however, indignantly refused to accept any such qualification. "Not only not acquiesced in, but not tolerated in any sense than this!" he exclaimed,—"that is, Dr. Laidlaw affirms that the decision of the Assembly may be read as meaning that if I were to repeat the promulgation of my views, they would be dealt with by discipline. Now that, I say, is not true, because the Church has distinctly said that she leaves the ultimate decision of those views to future inquiry, in the spirit of patience, humility, and brotherly charity. . . . I accepted the whole of the decision loyally, and loyally accepting it, I made arrangements, as I have already said, in my letter, not in the meantime to raise these critical questions in any public form; but I did so, not because the Church has bound me or any other member."

It was impossible to misinterpret this attitude. Professor Smith looked at the vote of the Assembly as a complete rehabilitation of himself, and if he did not at once use the liberty which he thought was secured to him, it was only "in the meantime." That, in virtue of the right which he now possessed, he purposed to speak out at some future time, was in the plainest manner proclaimed, and the discontent which had been only temporarily suppressed in the Church broke out afresh.

When the Commission met in August, its attention was called to the new situation, and two resolutions were adopted. One was, to appoint a Committee to examine the article which

had revived the agitation; the other, to hold a special meeting in October to hear the Committee's report and decide what it would be best then to do.

October came, and brought together a larger number of members than had ever before convened on a similar occasion in the history of the Scottish Church. The report submitted took a very serious view of the work examined. It declared that "the statements made by [the author] in many particulars are such as are fitted and can hardly fail to produce upon the minds of readers the impression that Scripture does not present a reliable statement of truth, and that God is not the Author of it." It then proceeded to indicate what the particulars referred to were. Passages of Scripture, it was said, are spoken of—(1) in an irreverent manner; (2) in such a way as to render it very difficult for readers to regard God as the Author of them; (3) so as naturally to suggest that Scripture does not give an authentic narrative of facts or actual occurrences; (4) as discrediting prophecy in its predictive aspects. In conclusion, the Committee reported that, in their view, "the whole tendency of the writings examined is fitted to throw the Old Testament history into confusion, and to weaken, if not to destroy, the very foundation on which New Testament doctrine is built. Moreover, the general method on which [the author] proceeds, conveys the impression that the Bible may be accounted for by the same laws which have determined the growth of any other literature, inasmuch as there is no adequate recognition of the Divine element in the production of the book."

It was thereupon proposed to approve generally of the report, and to instruct Professor Smith to refrain from conducting his class during the coming session. In opposition to this, Mr. Smith himself was heard at great length. His speech was exceedingly able and ingenious, but it failed to

satisfy those who listened to him, and the motion was carried by a very large majority.

The action of the Commission at this time was vehemently condemned in many quarters. It was described as the instituting of a new process which was held to be beyond its powers, and its suspension of the Professor in the circumstances—after his acquittal by the Assembly—was pronounced especially lawless. On the other hand, it was argued that one of the great purposes of the Commission is to take notice of anything emerging between the Assemblies which seemed to concern the Church as a whole, and that the "instruction" given to Professor Smith to refrain from teaching was not, strictly speaking, an act of suspension, but a precautionary order given under peculiar conditions, which might have been by himself legally disregarded.

As a matter of fact, it was not disregarded. Mr. Smith did refrain from teaching, and the Assembly of 1881 by and by came round. Then a preliminary debate took place with regard to the conduct of the Commission. So strongly had many of the lay office-bearers in Glasgow felt on the subject, that a memorial, signed by 299 of them, was allowed to be spoken to by one of their number from the bar. The motion condemning it, however, was unexpectedly mild. It was described as unnecessary, unwise, contrary to the spirit of the instructions given, and dangerous as a precedent; but, except in some of the speeches delivered in support of it, it was not held to be unconstitutional, and the division which followed its conduct was approved by 439 as against 218.

But the great discussion was raised later on. On that occasion Dr. Rainy moved as follows:—

"The General Assembly having had their attention called by the Commission in October, and by overtures from Presbyteries, to certain writings of Professor Smith, and in particular to an article, "Hebrew Language and Literature," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*;

"And considering that said article was prepared for publication by Professor Smith after he had accepted service of libel on account of previous statements made by him on cognate matters;

"And considering that said article was not before last Assembly when they pronounced judgment on said libel, because it did not appear until after the Assembly had risen, and the Professor, in accepting admonition as to the unguarded and incomplete character of previous utterances, gave no indication of its being in existence;

"And, having in view also a letter from Professor Smith to the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen, in which he explains and defends his conduct in relation to that article—Find:

"1. That the construction of last Assembly's judgment in Professor Smith's case, on which, in his letter, he claims that the right was conceded to him to promulgate his views, is unwarrantable; the Assembly therefore repudiate that construction, and adopt the statement on this subject contained in the report submitted to the Commission in October:

"2. That the article 'Hebrew Language and Literature' is fitted to give at least as great offence, and cause as serious anxiety, as that for which he was formerly dealt with:

"3. That it contains statements which are fitted to throw grave doubt on the historical truth and Divine inspiration of several books of Scripture:

"4. That both the tone of the article in itself, and the fact that such an article was prepared and published in the circumstances, and after all the previous proceedings in his case, evince on the part of Professor Smith a singular insensibility to his responsibilities as a theological professor, and a singular and culpable lack of sympathy with the reasonable anxieties of the Church as to the bearing of critical speculations on the integrity and authority of Scripture:

"5. That all this has deepened the conviction already entertained by a large section of the Church, that Professor Smith, whatever his gifts and attainments, which the Assembly have no disposition to undervalue, ought no longer to be entrusted with the training of students for the ministry:

"Therefore the General Assembly, having the responsible duty to discharge of overseeing the teaching in the Divinity Halls, while they are sensible of the importance of guarding the due liberty of professors, and encouraging learned and candid research, feel themselves constrained to declare that they no longer consider it safe or advantageous for the Church that Professor Smith should continue to teach in one of her Colleges."

To this Dr. Whyte proposed a counter motion to the following effect: "That the General Assembly, having regard to the overtures on its table anent the case of Professor W. Robertson Smith, and the volume recently published by him in explanation of his opinions, find that, inasmuch as it is the right of every member and office-bearer of this Church, against whom grave charges are brought, to be dealt with

constitutionally, after full investigation, it can adopt no course of procedure which prejudices that right. But in view of the acknowledged gravity of the issues involved, and the importance of jealously maintaining the doctrine of the Church as to the authority and inspiration of the word of God, resolves to appoint a Committee to consider maturely the writings of Professor W. R. Smith, published since last Assembly, with power, if they see cause, to prosecute him by libel before the Presbytery of Aberdeen, and in any case to report to next Assembly."

On a vote being taken, it was found that Dr. Rainy's motion was carried by a majority of 423 to 245.

The proposal, however, so far was simply declaratory. The Assembly had said that it considered it no longer advantageous or safe to continue Mr. Smith in his chair, but it had not taken the step of actually displacing him. That step was taken two days later, when, by a majority of 394 to 231, it was agreed to declare the Professorship of Hebrew in Aberdeen vacant, the full salary of its present occupant being continued to him as before.

In looking back on the history of this case, one can see that, in various respects, the prosecution was unwisely conducted. It is not in the least surprising that, to begin with, the belief should have been so general that a charge of heresy might be brought home to Professor Smith. The suddenness of his attack upon our traditions, and the condition of the Church at the time, made it extremely natural that a very strong position should have been taken up. And, as has been said, if an indictment had been drawn up with only a single count in it, such as this, "You hold and teach a view of the Holy Scriptures which impugns and discredits them as the supreme and infallible source of religious truth," it might have been accepted as relevant, and might possibly have been

proved. But the framing of so cumbrous a libel as was actually drawn up was a great mistake, because it multiplied the points at which it could be attacked, and led not only to its ultimately falling to pieces, but to its doing so in a manner which was most damaging to those interested in its success. For, first of all, some of the counts were pronounced authoritatively to be irrelevant; others were fallen from in a way to suggest to the accused that he had been acquitted on them; and, finally, the libel itself was abandoned.

Perhaps all that happened was for the best. But for the discussions which occurred in connection with the case, the issues involved in it would not have been brought out so clearly. The proper relation of the Church to critical inquiry would not have been so distinctly defined, nor would the position and responsibilities of professors have come to be so well understood.

Dr. Rainy appears to have seen the significance of the agitation from the outset. In one of his earliest speeches (as has already been pointed out) he indicated his belief that the questions raised ought to be dealt with, not in the way of discipline, but in the exercise of the Church's powers of administration. It was to this point that the Assembly was brought at the last, and but that it would have been difficult to bring the truth home to the Church except in connection with the painful experiences through which it had to pass, it might have been a happy circumstance if it had realised the fact earlier.

The Church, we may say, is now convinced that the advance of criticism is not to be arrested by means of libels. If a man affirms that he believes in the inspiration of a book of Scripture, it will be difficult to prove that he contradicts the Confession of Faith by giving a novel account of its authorship or its composition. Besides, we have had evidence

enough of recent years to show that the last word has not been spoken on the subject, and that new light may be thrown from various quarters on the history of the Bible. Under these circumstances, then, we must guard against making a term of communion of what may come to be exploded. Most of us, therefore, are now ready to believe that the College Committee was probably right when they said that they "had not found in the article 'Bible' any ground sufficient to support a process for heresy."

But was the Church then helpless in view of the teaching of Professor Smith—teaching which no one professed to be able absolutely to accept, and which was regarded, very generally, as affecting in the most serious way the authority of Scripture? So it was argued. The Assembly of 1881 was told, in so many words, that there was nothing for it but to "bear" an unsatisfactory professor, just as a congregation has to "bear" an inefficient minister. Prove him to be a heretic, was the demand, and you may dismiss Professor Smith when you will; but as long as he can show that he is not contradicting the Confession of Faith, he is entitled to continue in his chair at Aberdeen. He holds his office *ad vitam aut culpam*, and the *culpa* must be established by a judicial process. This was the cry which came from many quarters,—from legal quarters especially,—and threats were uttered of carrying the question into the Civil Courts if the Church refused to recognise the Professor's rights.

Now two questions were raised in this connection. One was this: (1) Is there nothing to make a man unfit for a theological chair except his being proved a heretic? the other, (2) Has the Church no other way of dispensing with the services of an unsuitable teacher but that of satisfying a judicial Court that he is unsound?

There will be no difficulty in answering the first of these questions. Of course, heresy is not the only incapacity which may distinguish a professor. He may turn out after his appointment to be a fool; he may prove quite unable to manage a class; or, without teaching heresy, he may instruct his students in a manner to make them disloyal to their Church and unfit to occupy any of its pulpits. Professor Smith had none of these disqualifications. But in a report adopted by the General Assembly it was declared that "the whole tendency of his writings was fitted to throw the Old Testament into confusion, and to weaken, if not to destroy, the very foundation on which New Testament doctrine is built." He was also charged in the motion carried in 1881 with "evincing a singular insensibility to his responsibilities as a theological professor, and a singular and culpable lack of sympathy with the reasonable anxieties of the Church."

Of course not a few regarded these conclusions as unwarranted, but the fact remains that they expressed the prevalent convictions of the Church; and it was not unnatural that a resolution was adopted to the effect that it was not safe to continue him in his chair.

But was it beyond its power to remove him? It seems preposterous to say so. A professorship in a Free Church College is not a Crown appointment, implying the conferring of a civil right; it is an appointment by a private corporation to do a certain kind of work. That work, moreover, is in its nature of paramount importance. If a mistake is made in connection with it, it is not merely one congregation which will suffer, but a whole community, and the mischief done may affect an entire generation. And when no one will deny that it is within the right of the Church to suppress the College itself, if it sees fit, or any individual chair in it, it is absurd to say that it cannot dispense with the services

of anyone who has ceased to do the work which he undertook to perform.

If it is argued that the Church could not, without a judicial process, even dissolve the pastoral tie between a minister and his people, we answer that we do not know that that is the case. It could not delete his ordination, indeed—that is a different matter. But to remove a man from his charge for sufficient reasons is certainly within the competency of the Church, although he may, at the same time, have a just claim for pecuniary compensation.

The cases, however, are by no means parallel. The injury done to a congregation is trifling as compared with that done by a mistaken appointment to a chair. As a rule, the people can find a remedy by going elsewhere; and besides, they had themselves directly to blame for calling an inefficient minister. A College, on the other hand, which has in it a professor who has lost the confidence of his Church, has it in its power to affect injuriously that Church's whole future; and it is folly to suppose that it is without a remedy unless it can establish against him a charge of heresy.

But it is argued, if the General Assembly has the power to dismiss a professor when he is believed to be injuring the Church, then an alteration should be made in the terms of his appointment. It should be intimated to him that he will hold his office at the pleasure of the Assembly. But we should be sorry to see any such regulation adopted. It would diminish our chances of getting the best men to become candidates, it would keep alive an uncomfortable feeling in the hearts of conscientious occupants of chairs, and it would open a door for restless individuals to make attacks by motions on unpopular professors. It is certainly best as it is that men should understand, in regard to their appointments, that they are undoubtedly for life—unless

they either become heretics, or proceed in such a way as to give intense and widespread dissatisfaction to the Church. Then an extraordinary occasion will demand an extraordinary remedy; and that "reserve of power" which the Church must possess, if it has not divested itself of an inherited right, will, if necessary, be put forth to save itself from self-inflicted injuries. Such occasions must be extremely rare, so rare that a vote like that of 1881 is likely to take place not oftener than once or twice in a century; but no dispassionate reader of the history will deny that it had at least some justification. For five years the Church had been kept in a constant state of agitation in connection with Professor Smith's case. After he had been reponed, with an admonition, it was made plain that he was unchanged alike in opinion and spirit. And it came to be made manifest that the Free Church was too narrow a sphere for his speculations.

But what have been the consequences which have followed from the conclusions come to? It was predicted that these would be of the most serious description. In point of fact, however, no such results succeeded as many feared.

In the first place, Professor Smith himself did not suffer either in position or in reputation. That he did suffer otherwise is indeed certain. He loved the Church in which his father had been a minister, and in which he had himself been brought up, and it was a sore trial to him to be separated from it. We may also allow ourselves to doubt whether it was altogether for his good that he was removed from the restraints which would have been upon him as a Free Church professor. But, so far as the world was concerned, he was required to make no sacrifice. He was immediately appointed to a chair in the University of

Cambridge, and there, and in connection with the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he achieved for himself such a place in the estimation of the educated classes, that if he had become a candidate he would probably have been elected Lord Rector in his own University of Aberdeen. Far more than that, however—another gain followed to him from the action of the General Assembly. As long as he remained in a College of the Free Church, he was hampered and burdened and embarrassed. He was the new wine seeking to be received into the old bottles. In the effort to reconcile the two there was a constant risk of explosions. While outside he had liberty and elbow-room, which for an investigator like himself was in a manner his very life. The truth, in fact, is that, if he was to prosecute to a conclusion the inquiries he had entered on, it was absolutely necessary that he should have a perfectly free hand.

On the other hand, the consequences of his removal to the Church were not less satisfactory. No arrest was put by it upon legitimate inquiry, for that has been prosecuted since without let or hindrance. But, as the result, a period of peace and harmony immediately succeeded. If Dr. Whyte's motion had been carried, it is absolutely certain that indefinite agitation would have been the result. The old battle would have been renewed in Presbytery and Synod and in the press, and what would have been the end no one could have predicted. Some think controversies good for the Church, and we may admit that they have their uses. But no one who considers the needs of the world will argue that it is wholesome for a Church to be perpetually disturbed by internal dissensions, and it was certainly something to be thankful for when the calm came in 1881.

More important, however, was this other consequence,

that the connection was at once broken between the Free Church of Scotland and the Biblical Articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. As long as Dr. Smith continued one of our professors, a quite factitious interest was given to these communications. No sooner did any of them appear than they were read in the light of the peculiar position of their author. The world felt itself entitled to say that the opinions expressed in them were at least tolerated by the orthodox communion he was supposed to represent. And the situation was regarded by not a few to be intolerable. After the Assembly of 1881, however, the special interest that had attached to the articles suddenly ceased. The Church had no further responsibility in reference to them; and while the editor now regarded himself as free to employ so very advanced a critic as Wellhausen, the proceeding was looked upon with perfect equanimity, because then the views set forth were judged on their essential merits, not in their relation to the attitude of the Church.

We have spoken of the rise of the Critical School as if it were synchronous with the appearance of Professor Smith. And that was true in this sense, that the movement was then made *visible*. But there were other men who had to do with its inception — Professor A. B. Davidson, for example, to whom Smith looked up as his master, and whose reputation is the highest possible as an Old Testament scholar; and Dr. Marcus Dods, whose authority is as great in connection with New Testament Introduction. By none of our critics has the supernatural authorship of the Bible been for a moment called in question, but those just named have advanced in some ways beyond the traditional positions, and have been followed, at greater or less distances, by Professors Bruce, Salmond, and Candlish, and by G. A. Smith, Stalker, Denney, Skinner, and Hastings.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITERATURE

A WELL-KNOWN firm of Edinburgh publishers,[1] in issuing, before the Assembly of 1893, a list of books written by ministers of the Free Church, quoted *The Methodist Times* as saying that "the Free Church is the most theological and literary Church in the world."

It would be presumptuous in the Free Church to accept so generous a testimony as literally true, but we may at least claim for it that its intellectual activity has never been inconsiderable, and that it has no great cause to be ashamed of its contributions to literature.

In proposing to deal with this subject, our first idea was simply to give a list of books known to have been published by Free Churchmen, but it was easy to see that such a catalogue could never be made interesting reading, and we have accordingly come to the conclusion to try a plan of classification.

A plan like this, however, has its own difficulties. It is not always clear where books should be placed, and it is more than probable that some will be found under headings to which they do not properly belong.

It is also more than likely that publications will be overlooked which ought to have been mentioned. Care has been taken to prevent this mistake; but, in case of any misunder-

[1] Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

standing, we must at the outset explain that no endeavour has been made to give the titles of the innumerable sermons and pamphlets which from time to time have been issued to the world, and that we do not undertake to give the names of all the works of the different authors.

There is another preliminary explanation which is necessary. In the following lists it has seemed to be impossible to confine the writers to those who are at this moment, or who continued all their days, to be members of the Free Church. Such an arrangement would convey an imperfect idea of what that Church has done toward imparting an impulse to the intellectual life of the age. Hence the names are given of some who, although they became attached to other communions, were born or brought up in the Free Church, and received from it more or less of their bent and training. Among these may be mentioned, for example, the late President M'Cosh of Princeton, and Principal Dykes of the English Presbyterian College.

It must also be added, that although the contributions of the laity are noted to a certain extent, it is not pretended, for a moment, that all authors are named who have been or are connected with the Free Church as private members.

I. *Exposition*

One of the first and most important duties of a Church is, of course, to endeavour to make plain the meaning of its great Text Book; and it is reasonable to ask, to begin with, what the Free Church has done for the exposition of the Bible. In this department she has certainly not been idle. There are not many books of Holy Scripture which have not been commented upon, with greater or less fulness, by one or other of its ministers.

(1) On the Old Testament, the following authors have written :—

Genesis: R. S. Candlish, D.D., and Marcus Dods, D.D.
Exodus: Dr. James Macgregor.
Leviticus: Dr. Andrew Bonar.
Deuteronomy: Dr. Andrew Harper.
Joshua: Professor Blaikie, Principal Douglas, Dr. S. Black.
Judges: Dr. Dods, Principal Douglas, J. Sutherland Black, LL.D.
1*st and* 2*nd Samuel:* Professor Blaikie, D.D., LL.D.
Esther: A. Davidson, D.D. (Aberdeen).
Job: Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D.
The Psalms: Professor Binnie, D.D., Dr. Andrew Bonar.
Proverbs: Rev. William Arnot.
Ecclesiastes: Dr. Robert Buchanan, and Dr. James Hamilton.
The Song of Solomon: Dr. Alexander Moody Stuart.
Isaiah: Professor George Adam Smith, D.D.
Ezekiel: Principal P. Fairbairn, Professor Davidson, and Professor Skinner.
Daniel: Rev. W. White of Haddington.
The Minor Prophets: Professor G. A. Smith.
Obadiah to Zephaniah: Principal Douglas.
Haggai to Malachi: Dr. Marcus Dods.
Jonah: Principal Fairbairn, Professor Blaikie, Hugh Martin, D.D.
Habakkuk: by Rev. Peter Barclay.

Besides the Commentaries which the men named have written on particular books in the Old Testament, there are other works dealing with subjects selected from it or bearing on its exposition generally.

Principal Douglas has published a *Short Analysis of the Old Testament*; Dr. Robert Gordon, a series of Lectures on *Christ as made known in the Ancient Church*; Mr. Macdonald of Edinkillie, a work on *The Creation and Fall*; and

Mr. Buchanan Blake, several volumes on *How to Read the Prophets.*

The following also have appeared:—

Heroes of Israel: by Dr. Blaikie.
David: by Professor Blaikie, and Mr. P. Thomson.
Abraham: by Principal Dykes.
Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph: by Professor Marcus Dods.
Jacob: by Rev. A. Gregory.
Moses: by Dr. James Hamilton.
Samson: by Dr. John Bruce.
Gideon: by Dr. John Bruce, Mr. Wallace Duncan, and Principal Miller.
Samuel: by R. Steel, D.D.
Saul: by Rev. P. Richardson.
Elijah: by David Crichton, D.D., and Rev. A. Ewing.
The Making of Israel; from Joseph to Joshua: by Rev. C. Anderson Scott.
From the Exile to the Advent: by Rev. W. Fairweather.
Psalms: The 23rd, by Rev. R. Gilchrist; The 51st, by Rev. Thomas Alexander; The 67th, by Rev. P. Barclay.

(2) The New Testament has received as much attention.

All the *Four Gospels* have been expounded by Principal Brown, D.D., and Dr. Stewart of Leghorn likewise has published a Commentary on them in Italian.

The individual Gospels of *Mark, Luke,* and *John* have been commented on, the first by Professor Lindsay, the second by Dr. Lindsay and Dr. Foote, and the third by Dr. Reith and Dr. Dods.

This does not seem a great deal to have done for so important a part of Scripture, but the books named form a very small portion of what has been written with a view to an exposition of the Gospels.

Several *Lives of Christ,* for example, have been published, the authors being Dr. Hanna, Dr. Robertson Nicoll, Dr.

Stalker, Professor Salmond, and Dr. Edersheim. *Glimpses into the Inner Life of Christ* have also been published by Dr. Blaikie, and *Lessons from the Life of Christ* by Rev. W. Scrymgeour.

Then *The Sermon on the Mount* has been made the subject of elaborate comment by Dr. Mackintosh Mackay and Principal Dykes; while *The Lord's Prayer* has been expounded by Dr. Marcus Dods, Dr. Saphir, and Dr. Hood Wilson, and *His Intercessory Prayer* by the Rev. T. Alexander.

Nor have the *Parables* been overlooked. Books on them have been published by Dr. Dods, Mr. Arnot, Professor Salmond, Dr. Guthrie, and Dr. Wells, and, in his *Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, by Dr. Bruce. Dr. James Hamilton has also given us an exposition of the *Prodigal Son*.

The *Miracles* have been less noticed, one work only—by Professor Laidlaw—having been devoted to them.

In addition to these, a number of selected subjects have been dealt with: *The Training of the Twelve* and *The Galilean Gospel*, by Professor Bruce; the *Four Evangelists*, by Rev. Edward Thomson; portions of *St. John's Gospel*, by Dr. Beith and Mr. Peyton; *Christ at Sychar*, by Dr. Norman Walker; and *Nicodemus*, by Dr. Grierson of Errol.

Principal Brown and Professor Lindsay have each published Commentaries on the *Acts of the Apostles*; and Mr. Arnot has made the same book the basis of his *Church in the House*. Principal Dykes, too, has commented on the first eight chapters in his *From Jerusalem to Antioch*.

But here, as in other connections, we have supplementary works. To Dr. Stalker we owe a *Life of St. Paul*; to Professor Iverach, an account of *St. Paul's Life and Times*; and to Dr. Morrison of Glasgow, a *History of the Acts and Epistles* read in one continuous narrative. Professor Salmond also has published a *Life of the Apostle Peter*.

On almost all the Epistles books have been written.

The Romans has been expounded by Dr. Chalmers and Dr. David Brown, and (the eight first chapters) by Dr. Dykes. Dr. Brown has commented on *1st and 2nd Corinthians*, Dr. Dods on the first Epistle, and Dr. Denney on the second. To Dr. James Macgregor we are indebted for an exposition of *Galatians*. Dr. R. S. Candlish, Rev. John MacPherson, and Professor Blaikie have books on the *Ephesians*, Principal Rainy on the *Philippians*, and Dr. Denney and Dr. Dods on *1st and 2nd Thessalonians*. Commentaries on the *Pastoral Epistles* have been published by Principal Fairbairn and Dr. A. S. Paterson; while *Titus* alone has been taken up by Dr. Dykes. There are four works on the *Hebrews*—by Dr. A. S. Paterson, Dr. Saphir, Professor Davidson, and Dr. Bruce. And with regard to the remaining Epistles, we have works on *James*, by Dr. A. S. Paterson and Dr. Adam; on *1st and 2nd Peter*, by Professor Salmond; on *1st John*, by Dr. R. S. Candlish, Dr. A. S. Paterson, and Dr. Charles Watson; and on *Jude*, by Dr. M'Gilvray of Aberdeen.

On the Book of *Revelation* different men have written with greater or less minuteness, among them being the Rev. Ebenezer Miller and Rev. J. A. Wallace of Hawick, on the *Letters to the Seven Churches*; Dr. Wylie, Dr. Horatius Bonar, Rev. Alexander Gregory, on the book generally; and Principal Brown, on *The Structure of the Apocalypse*.

In addition to the list now given, two works of a general kind remain to be named, the *Synoptical Lectures* of Donald Fraser, and *Light and Truth* by Dr. Horatius Bonar. The latter embraces five volumes—the first on the Old Testament, the second on the Gospels, the third on the Acts and Larger Epistles, the fourth on the Lesser Epistles, and the last on the Revelation of St. John. Professor Skinner has also discussed *The Historical Connection between the Old and New Testaments*.

II. *Theology*

Considering the theological reputation which the Free Church has, less has been published in that connection than might have been expected. At least, the books on theology, strictly so called, have been fewer than might have been expected, and these—a good many of them—owe their existence to the older men who left the Establishment at the Disruption. For almost all the later works which have appeared we are indebted to the Cunningham Lectureship foundation, and to the series of Handbooks edited by Drs. Whyte and Dods.

Among the earlier theologians are the following:—

Thomas Chalmers, D.D., D.C.L.: "Institutes of Theology."

William Cunningham, D.D.: "Historical Theology," "Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation," "Theological Lectures."

Principal Lumsden, D.D.: "Baptism."

Robt. S. Candlish, D.D.: "The Atonement," "The Fatherhood of God," "Life in a Risen Saviour," "The Holy Spirit."

Professor Binnie, D.D.: "The Church."

Professor Smeaton, D.D.: "The Holy Spirit," "The Atonement."

Professor Maclagan, D.D.: "Theological Lectures."

Professor James Buchanan, D.D.: "The Holy Spirit," "Justification by Faith."

Principal Fairbairn, D.D.: "Pastoral Theology," "Revelation of Law in Scripture," "Hermeneutical Manual."

Professor Bannerman, D.D.: "Inspiration: the Infallible Truth and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures," "The Church of Christ."

Rev. J. Grant, Ayr: "Baptism," and "The Lord's Supper."

Professor Gibson, D.D.: "Present Day Truths in Theology," "Man's Inability: Natural and Moral."

Hugh Martin, D.D.: "The Atonement," "Christ's Presence in the Gospel History."

J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D.: "Elements of Christian Truth."

Robert Shaw, D.D.: "Exposition of Confession of Faith."
William White of Haddington: "The Nature and Extent of the Atonement."
James Begg, D.D.: "Handbook of Popery."
Thomas M'Cric, D.D. (The Younger): "Christian Baptism."
Rev. J. W. Wylie, LL.D.: "The Papacy."

Among the younger men may be named:—

James Macgregor, D.D.: "Christian Doctrine."
Professor Bruce, D.D.: "The Kingdom of God," "The Humiliation of Christ," "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity."
Alex. Whyte, D.D.: "Exposition of the Shorter Catechism."
Professor James Candlish, D.D.: "The Kingdom of God," "The Doctrine of Sin," "The Christian Doctrine of God," "The Christian Sacraments."
Rev. John MacPherson, M.A.: "The Confession of Faith," "The Sum of Saving Knowledge," "Presbyterianism."
Professor Laidlaw, D.D.: "The Bible Doctrine of Man."
James Walker, D.D.: "The Theology and the Theologians of Scotland."
Professor Salmond, D.D.: "Exposition of the Shorter Catechism," "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," "The Sabbath."
D. Douglas Bannerman, D.D.: "The Scripture Doctrine of the Church," "Grounds and Methods of Admission to Sealing Ordinances," "Presbyterianism and the Reformed Church Catholic."
Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A.: "The Lord's Supper," "The Sabbath."
Rev. George Macaulay: "Puritan Theology."
Dr. Michael Willis: "Speech in the Case of William Scott," "National Establishment of Christianity," "Proposed Concessions to Roman Catholics."
Principal Rainy, D.D.: "Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine."
James Denney, D.D.: "Studies in Theology."
Robert G. Balfour, D.D: "Central Truths and Side Issues."
Rev. D. C. A. Agnew: "The Theology of Consolation."
Rev. C. A. Salmond, M.A.: "Our Christian Passover."

This, perhaps, is the place to refer to two great undertakings which were carried through under the superintendence of Free Church ministers. The first was the publication of Owen's Works, the editorship of which was placed in the hands of Dr. Goold, who wrote elaborate prefaces to the different treatises; the second was the reissue of the works of a number of the other Puritan divines (Goodwin, etc.), which were edited by Dr. Thomas Smith. Dr. Goold also edited the works of M'Laurin.

III. *Criticism and Apologetics*

Circumstances have led to more attention being given to these subjects than might otherwise have been the case. A very large amount of thought has found expression in the shape of articles and pamphlets, but of these it is impossible to take note. The number of books alone is considerable.

Hetherington (Prof., LL.D): "Apologetics of the Christian Faith."

M'Cosh (President of Princeton): "The Method of the Divine Government," "The Religious Aspect of Evolution," "Christianity and Positivism," "Realistic Philosophy," "The Defence of Fundamental Truth," "Whither, O Whither?"

Buchanan (Prof. James, D.D.): "Faith in God and Modern Atheism," "On the Tracts for the Times," "Analogy a Guide to Truth."

Chalmers (Thomas, D.D., LL.D.): "Evidences of Christianity," "Natural Theology," "Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God" (Bridgewater Treatise).

Cunningham (Principal, D.D.): "Notes on Stillingfleet on Popery," "Prelections on Butler, Paley, and Hill."

Macdonald (Rev. D., Edinkillie): "Introduction to the Pentateuch."

Murray Mitchell (J., LL.D.): "Evidences of the Christian

Religion," Present Day Tracts ("Zend Avesta," etc.), "Hinduism, Past and Present."

Macgregor (James, D.D.): "The Apology of the Christian Religion," "The Revelation and the Record," "Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics."

Robertson Smith (Prof., D.D.): "The Prophets of Israel," "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," "Religion of the Semites," "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia."

Bruce (Prof., D.D.): "Apologetics of Christianity defensively stated," "The Chief End of Revelation," "Miraculous Element in the Gospels," Present Day Tracts ("Ferdinand Christian Baur").

Rainy (Principal, D.D.): "The Bible and Criticism," "The Supernatural in Christianity" (The place and end of miracles).

Dods (Prof. Marcus, D.D.): "Introduction to the New Testament," "The Supernatural in Christianity," "The Trustworthiness of the Gospels," "Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ."

Drummond (Prof. Henry): "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," "The Ascent of Man."

Wilson (Alex. S., M.A., B.Sc.): "The Survival of the Fittest and the Salvation of the Few."

Moody Stuart (Rev. A., D.D.): "The Bible True to Itself," "Israel's Lawgiver."

Candlish (Rev. R. S., D.D.): "Reason and Revelation," "Examination of Maurice's Theological Essays."

Rev. J. Wilson: "Enigma Vitæ."

Blaikie (Prof. W. G., D.D., LL.D.): Present Day Tracts ("Christianity, or, the Life that now is," "Secularism and Christianity compared," "Adaptation of Bible Religion to Man," etc.).

Binnie (Prof., D.D.): "Proposed Reconstruction of Old Testament History."

Sime (James): "Deuteronomy: the People's Book," "The Kingdom of All Israel," "The Mosaic Record in Harmony with Geology," "Bible Manual."

Crichton (Andrew): "Christianity and Recent Speculations" (in conjunction with Professors Rainy and Blaikie).

Iverach (Prof., D.D.): "Evolution and Christianity," "Is God Knowable?" Present Day Tracts ("Ethics of Evolution: Herbert Spencer"), "The Truth of Christianity."

Smith (Robert, D.D.): "Inspiration: its Nature and Proofs."

Thomson (W. D.): "The Christian Miracles and Science," "Revelation and the Bible."

Nicolson (W. M., Ph.D.): "The Classical Revision of the Greek New Testament."

Kennedy (Rev. H. A. A., D.Sc.): "The Sources of New Testament Greek."

Scott (James, D.D.): "Christianity and Secularism," "Principles of New Testament Quotation," "The Correlation of the Old and New Covenants," "Analysis of Rabbinical Judaism."

Elmslie (Prof., D.D.): Present Day Tracts ("Ernest Renan").

Douglas (Principal, D.D.): "Why I believe Moses wrote Deuteronomy."

Davidson (Prof. A. B., D.D.): "Hebrew Syntax," "Hebrew Grammar."

Carlyle (Rev. Gavin, M.A.): "The Battle of Unbelief," "Moses and the Prophets."

Cameron (Alex., LL.D.): "Reliquiæ Criticæ," "Texts, Papers, and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology."

Sir David Brewster: "More Worlds than One the Belief of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian."

Hugh Miller: "The Footprints of the Creator" (in reply to the "Vestiges"), "The Testimony of the Rocks."

Professor Duns, D.D.: "Science and Christian Thought," "Creation according to the Book of Genesis and the Confession of Faith," "Biblical and Natural Science."

Rev. James Kennedy, B.D.: "Introduction to Biblical Hebrew."

Douglas (Principal, D.D.): "One Isaiah: One Book."

IV. *History*

Elements of Church History, vol. i.: Dr. Welsh.
The First Three Centuries: Dr. Islay Burns.
History of the Jewish Nation: Dr. Alfred Edersheim.
History of Protestantism: Dr. Wylie.
History of the Reformation: Professor Lindsay.
The Scottish Reformation: Professor Lorimer.
Ladies of the Reformation: Rev. James Anderson.
Wars of the Huguenots; Wycliffe and the Huguenots: Dr. Hanna.
Rise and Progress of Jesuitism: Dr. Wylie.
Protestant Exiles in France, Huguenot Refugees: Rev. David Agnew.
Historical Sketch of the Protestant Church of France: Rev. J. G. Lorimer.
The Syrian Church in India: Dr. G. Milne Rae.
History of the Scottish Nation: Dr. Wylie.
History of Scotland in Gaelic: Rev. A. Mackenzie.
A School History of Scotland: Rev. James Mackenzie.
History of the Church of Scotland: Dr. Hetherington.
The Story of the Scottish Church: Dr. Thomas M'Crie.
Scottish Church History: Dr. Norman Walker.
Scottish Church History from the Secession to the Disruption: Rev. James Dodds.
A History of the Scottish People: Rev. Thomas Thomson.
History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth: Rev. J. Beattie.
The Preachers of Scotland: Dr. Blaikie.
Lectures on the Church of Scotland, in answer to Dean Stanley: Dr. Rainy.
Scottish Presbyterian Worship: Dr. Charles M'Crie.
Scottish Metrical Psalter of 1635, *with Historical Dissertations*: Dr. N. Livingston.
Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Fife: Dr. J. W. Taylor.
The Religious House of Pluscardyn: Rev. Simeon MacPhail.
Memorable Ladies of the Puritan Times: Rev. James Anderson.

Scotland's Part and Place in the Revolution of 1688: Dr. C. M'Crie.

The Early History of the Church of Scotland: Dr. T. Maclauchlan.

History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church: Rev. M. Hutchison.

Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church: Dr. Scott.

Some Chapters in Scottish Church History: Rev. D. A. Mackinnon.

History and Principles of the Scottish Church: Rev. Allan Cameron.

Annals of the Disruption: Dr. Thomas Brown.

The Ten Years' Conflict: Dr. Buchanan.

Law of Creeds in Scotland: A. Taylor Innes.

The Free Church of Scotland; her Origin, Founders, and Testimony: Dr. Peter Bayne.

Creeds and Churches in Scotland; The Free Church Principle; A Vindication of the Free Church Claim of Right: Sir Henry Moncreiff, D.D.

The Church and the Churchless: Rev. R. Howie.

Why are we Free Churchmen? J. M. M'Candlish.

Religious Life in Scotland during the last Half Century; Our Church Heritage: Dr. Norman Walker.

Church and State in Scotland: Dr. Thomas Brown.

Church and State: A. Taylor Innes.

The Story of the Covenant and the Covenanters: Dr. Wylie.

Ladies of the Covenant: Rev. James Anderson.

The Martyr Graves of Scotland: Rev. J. H. Thomson.

The Covenanters in Moray and Ross: Professor M. Macdonald.

Pastoral Work in Covenant Times: Rev. W. Ross, LL.D.

The Covenanters of the Merse: Rev. J. Wood Brown.

The Martyrs of Angus and Mearns: Rev. J. Moffat Scott.

Martyrs of the Bass Rock: Rev. James Anderson.

A Little Scottish World as revealed in the Annals of an Ancient Ayrshire Parish: Rev. Kirkwood Hewat.

Studies in Scottish Church History: A. Taylor Innes.
Early Travellers in Scotland: P. Hume Brown.
Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire: Dr. John Kennedy.
Memorabilia Domestica: Rev. A. Sage.
After Fifty Years: Dr. Blaikie.
History of St. George's, Edinburgh: D. Maclagan.
Memories of the Disruption: Dr. Beith.
History of the Westminster Assembly: Dr. Hetherington.
Portugal and its People: W. A. Salisbury (Rev. W. Agnew).
America; The Nineteenth Century: Robert Mackenzie.
Annals of English Presbytery: Dr. T. M'Crie.
Fifty Years of the Church of Victoria: Dr. A. Campbell.
Minister and Men in the Far North: Rev. A. Auld.
History of the Burgh of Dumfries, with notices of Nithsdale, etc.; Memorials of St. Michael's Church Yard, Dumfries: William M'Dowall, F.S.A.
Revivals of the Eighteenth Century: Dr. Macfarlan.
History of the East Neuk of Fife: Rev. Walter Wood.
Erasmus, and other Essays: Dr. Marcus Dods.
Revivals in the Highlands: Rev. Angus M'Gilvray.
History of Tain: Rev. W. Taylor.
History of Burgh of Paisley: Dr. Burns of Toronto.
Glimpses of Bohemia, Past and Present: James Macdonald, W.S.
Ulfilas: C. Anderson Scott, M.A.
Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland: Dr. Norman Walker.

V. *Biography*

Chalmers: by Dr. Hanna, Dr. Donald Fraser, and Dr. Norman Walker.
Candlish: Dr. W. Wilson.
Cunningham: Dr. Rainy, and Rev. James Mackenzie.
Guthrie: his sons, Rev. D. K. Guthrie, and C. J. Guthrie, advocate.
Begg: Dr. Thomas Smith.
Duff: Dr. George Smith, and Dr. T. Smith.

Buchanan: Dr. Norman Walker.
Macdonald of Ferintosh ("The Apostle of the North"): Dr. John Kennedy.
Wilson of Bombay: Dr. G. Smith.
Duncan (Rabbi): Principal Brown, Dr. Moody Stuart, and Professor Knight.
Sir David Brewster: his daughter.
James Hamilton: William Arnot.
Andrew Bonar: his daughter.
Dr. Stewart of Leghorn: Rev. J. Wood Brown.
Dr. Kennedy: Rev. A. Auld.
Makgill Crichton: Dr. J. W. Taylor.
Burns of China: Dr. Islay Burns.
Sir James Simpson: Professor Duns.
Dr. A. N. Somerville: Dr. G. Smith.
Burns of Kilsyth: Dr. Islay Burns.
Duchess of Gordon: Dr. Moody Stuart.
David Stow: Rev. W. Fraser.
A. S. Paterson: Dr. G. Philip.
Robert Nesbit: Dr. Murray Mitchell.
W. H. Hewitson: Rev. J. Baillie.
Sir Andrew Agnew: Dr. T. M'Crie, jun.
James Halley: Rev. William Arnot.
Stephen Hislop: Dr. G. Smith.
Brownlow North: Rev. Kenneth M. Stuart.
J. Anderson and R. Johnston: Rev. J. Braidwood.
David Livingstone: Dr. Blaikie.
David Sandeman: Dr. Andrew Bonar.
Henry Martyn: Dr. G. Smith.
Dr. M'Crie (author of Life of Knox): Dr. T. M'Crie, junior.
William Carey: Dr. G. Smith.
Duncan Matheson: Rev. J. M'Pherson.
Andrew Crichton: Dr. Blaikie.
William Denny: Professor Bruce.
Baroness Nairne (The Scottish Songstress): Mrs. A. R. Simpson.
G. T. Dodds of Paris: Dr. Horatius Bonar.

Dr. Donald Fraser: an Autobiography.
Alexander Anderson (Life in the Spirit): Dr. Norman Walker.
Adolph Saphir: Rev. Gavin Carlyle.
Margaret Wilson: Dr. John Wilson.
Thomas Cleghorn: David Maclagan.
David Maclagan: Dr. N. Walker.
Dr. C. C. Mackintosh: Rev. W. Taylor.
Robert Paul: Dr. Benjamin Bell.
Rev. A. Leitch (An Earnest Pastorate): Dr. Norman Walker.
Professor Elmslie: Dr. Robertson Nicoll.
Eliza Fletcher: Rev. C. Salmond.
Sheriff Nicholson: Dr. Walter Smith.
Renwick: Rev. W. Carslaw.
Samuel Martin: Professor Duns.
Professor Taylor of Perth: Dr. J. W. Taylor.
Judson: Dr. Horatius Bonar.
Lord Haddo: Dr. Duff.
John Macdonald of Calcutta: Dr. Tweedie.
Mackay of Uganda: his sister.
Principal Lumsden: Rev. John Rae.
James MacDonell: Dr. Robertson Nicoll.
Thomson of Duddingston: William Baird.
Professor T. Brown: Dr. Welsh.
Thomas Gardiner: Rev. A. Inglis.
Laing (African Missionary): Rev. W. Govan.
John Eliot: Dr. John Wilson.
Pourie of Calcutta: Dr. G. Smith.
Dr. Alex. Wood: Dr. T. Brown.
Hugh Miller, M.D.: Rev. W. Peyton.
Lady Colquhoun of Luss: Dr. James Hamilton.
Thomson of St. Fergus: Rev. G. Steven.
Dr. W. J. Elmslie: by his widow.
A. Mackay Ruthquist: Mrs. Harrison.
Mrs. Stewart Sandeman: Mrs. Barbour.
Manx Recollections (Eleanor Elliott): Katherine Forrest.
Chrysostom: Dr. M'Gilvray.

R. M. M'Cheyne: Dr. Andrew Bonar, Rev. A. Moffat Scott.
Patrick Hamilton: Professor Lorimer.
George Buchanan: P. Hume Brown.
John Knox: P. Hume Brown.
Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell: Rev. C. J. C. Duncan.
Mary Lundie Duncan: Mrs. Duncan.
Dr. Burns of Toronto: Rev. R. F. Burns.
Disruption Worthies.
Rev. John Milne: Dr. H. Bonar.
Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C.B.: Mrs. Mackenzie.
Mary Jane Kinnaird: Dr. Donald Fraser.
Alexander Balfour: Dr. R. H. Lundie.
Martin Luther: Dr. Peter Bayne.

To this list of Biographies there ought perhaps to be added some at least of the memorial volumes of notable men which have from time to time been published. These volumes have generally contained collections of sermons preceded by sketches, more or less full, of the lives of the men who preached them. Among the ministers whose memories it has thus been sought to preserve were Dr. Brown of Glasgow and Dr. Henry Grey of Edinburgh, two of the earliest Free Church Moderators, Mr. Andrew Gray of Perth, whose *Catechism on the Principles of the Church* had a very wide circulation, Dr. Roxburgh, Dr. John Bruce, Mr. Grant of Ayr, Mr. Edward Thomson of Edinburgh, Dr. Islay Burns, Mr. Forbes of Woodside (whose *Forms of Procedure in the Free Church* still holds its place with many, in spite of the official recognition now given to the *Manual* of Sir Henry Moncreiff), and Dr. Thomas Main.

It may not be out of place to say here, also, that a large number of the Lives of Notable Men in Scotland which have appeared in the *Dictionary of National Biography* were written by Professor Garden Blaikie.

VI. *Missions*

[The Lives of Missionaries written by Free Churchmen have been noticed elsewhere.]

India and India Missions: by Alexander Duff, D.D.
Evangelization of India: by John Wilson, D.D.
History of the Missions of the Free Church: by Robert Hunter, LL.D.
Brief History of Missions: by George Smith, LL.D.
The Conversion of India: by George Smith, LL.D.
Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church: by Alexander Duff, D.D.
Our Indian Mission Field: by Miss Rainy.
Letters to Indian Youth: by J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D.
The Religion of the Parsis: by J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D.
Modern Missions: by Robert Young, F.R.S.G.E.
Light in Lands of Darkness: by Robert Young, F.R.S.G.E.
In India: by Mrs. Murray Mitchell.
In Southern India: by Mrs. Murray Mitchell.
A Missionary's Wife among the Wild Tribes of South Bengal: by Mrs. Murray Mitchell.
The Vedic Religion: by Kenneth S. Macdonald, D.D.
Suwarta, and other Sketches of Indian Life; Light and Shade in Zenana Life: by Miss Small.
Report of Deputies to India, submitted to the Assembly of 1890: by Professor Lindsay, D.D.
Lovedale, Past and Present: by James Stewart, D.D.
Lovedale and South Africa: by James Stewart, D.D.
South Africa and its Mission Fields: by J. E. Carlyle, M.A.
Trophies from African Heathenism: by Robert Young, F.R.S.G.E.
Light in Africa: by Rev. James Macdonald.
Religion and Myth: by Rev. James Macdonald.
In the New Hebrides: by G. Inglis, D.D.
Bible Illustrations from the New Hebrides: by G. Inglis, D.D.

The Martyr Islands (New Hebrides): by R. Young, F.R.S.G.E.
The New Hebrides and Christian Missions: by R. Steel, D.D.
Memorials of the Hon. Ion Keith Falconer: by Rev. R. Sinker, B.D.
China and the Missions of Amoy: by G. F. Barbour.
Mediæval Missions: by Thomas Smith, D.D.
Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches: by J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D.
Success of Christian Missions: by Robert Young, F.R.S.G.E.
Recollections of Dr. Duff: by Rev. Lal Behari Day.
Indian Caste: by John Wilson, D.D.
Suppression of Infanticide: by John Wilson, D.D.
The Parsi Religion: by John Wilson, D.D.
India Three Thousand Years Ago: by John Wilson, D.D.
The Indian Rebellion: by Alexander Duff, D.D.
The Fetichism of Western Africa: by J. E. Carlyle, M.A.
Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces: by Rev. S. Hislop.
Santali Folk-lore: by Rev. Andrew Campbell.
Three Months in Camp: by J. M. MacPhail, M.B., C.M.
Four Months—a Tour: by J. M. MacPhail, M.B., C.M.
Thirty-Eight Years' Mission Life in Jamaica: by Rev. Gavin Carlyle.
Sabbath Mornings with the Bombay Mission: by Rev. R. Stothert.
A Lady's Letters from Central Africa: by Mrs. J. F. Moir.
A Century of Protestant Missions: by Rev. James Johnston.
Woman's Work in Heathen Lands (A Series of Penny Books, written chiefly by Missionaries, and issued in three volumes).
Lectures to Educated Hindus: by Principal Miller.
Indian Missions, and How to View them: by Principal Miller.
Manners and Customs of the Parsis; The Parsi Religion: by Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji.
The Dawn in the East; Caste in its relation to the Church: by Rev. P. Rajahgopaul.
Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana: by Mrs. Colin Mackenzie.
Daybreak in Spain: by Rev. Dr. Wylie.

VII. *General Religious Books*

Dr. James Buchanan: "Comfort in Affliction," "Improvement of Affliction."

Dr. R. S. Candlish: "Scripture Characteristics," "Life in a Risen Saviour," "The Two Great Commandments," "Discourses bearing on the Sonship of Believers."

Dr. Hugh MacMillan: "Bible Teachings in Nature," "The True Vine," "The Three Risings from the Dead," "The Garden of the City," "The Sabbath of the Field," "Two Worlds are One," "My Comfort in Sorrow," "The Mystery of Grace," "The Ministry of Nature," "The Marriage in Cana of Galilee."

Dr. Stalker: "Imago Christi," "The Preacher and his Models," "The Four Men," "The Trial and Death of Christ."

Dr. Moody Stuart: "The Three Marys," "Recent Awakenings and Higher Holiness," "The Path of the Redeemed," "Capernaum."

Dr. Horatius Bonar: "God's Way of Holiness," "Man, his Religion and his World," "The Old Gospel not Another Gospel," "God's Way of Peace."

Dr. Charles Brown: "The Divine Glory of Christ," "Godliness and the Christian Ministry."

Dr. Julius Wood: "God's own Testimony to Prayer."

Dr. James Hamilton: "The Mount of Olives," "Life in Earnest," "Emblems from Eden," "Mornings beside the Sea of Galilee," "Our Christian Classics."

Dr. Guthrie: "The Gospel in Ezekiel," "Christ the Inheritance of the Saints," "The Way of Life."

Dr. Chalmers: "Astronomical Discourses," "Commercial Discourses," "Congregational Sermons," "Sermons on Public Occasions," "Daily Scripture Readings," "Sabbath Scripture Readings."

Dr. R. Macdonald: "From Day to Day."

Dr. W. Wilson : "The Kingdom of God," "Setting his face toward Jerusalem," "Free Church Principles."

Dr. Hanna: "The Church and its Living Head," "The Resurrection of the Dead."

Dr. John Kennedy: "Man's Relation to God," and "Sermons" (2 vols.).

Dr. Elder: "The Redeemer's Cry," and other Sermons.

Rev. A. Stewart of Cromarty: "The Tree of Promise," "The Mosaic Sacrifices."

Dr. Walter Smith: "Thoughts and Fancies for Sunday Reading."

Dr. Adolph Saphir: "The Divine Unity of the Scripture," "Christ Crucified," "Christ and the Church," "The Hidden Life."

Dr. Beith: "Narrative of Successive Bereavements."

Dr. J. W. Taylor: "The Religion of Scotland that of the Bible," "In a Country Manse."

Rev. William Arnot: "The Race for Riches," "The Anchor of the Soul," "The Present World," "Roots and Fruits of the Christian Life."

Dr. Alexander Whyte: "Bunyan Characters," "Samuel Rutherford and some of his Contemporaries."

Rev. J. Kerr Bain: "The People of the Pilgrimage," "For Heart and Life."

Dr. Moir Porteous: "The Government of the Kingdom of Christ," "The Brethren."

Rev. D. M. Ross: "Christ and the Home."

Rev. W. A. Gray: "The Shadow of the Hand."

Professor R. Mackintosh: "Christ and the Jewish Law."

Rev. Alexander Ewing: "Not Cunningly Devised Fables," "Elijah and Ahab."

Dr. George Philip: "The King's Table," "Life's Golden Morn," "The Trials and Triumphs of Faith."

Dr. Robertson Nicoll: "The Lamb of God," "Ten Minute Sermons," "Songs of Rest."

Rev. John Philip (Fordoun): "Lights and Shadows of Human Life," "Earthly Cares and their Cure."

Rev. G. E. Troup: "Words to Young Christians."

Rev. James Gall: "The Synagogue the Model of the Christian Church," "Congregational Evangelism the Hope of the World," "Anthropology of the Bible."

Dr. Donald Fraser: "Metaphors in the Gospels," "Speeches of the Apostles."

Rev. James A. Paton: "Honouring God."

Dr. Charles Moinet: "The Good Cheer of Jesus Christ."

Rev. John F. Ewing: "The Unsearchable Riches of Christ."

William Burns: "Notes of Addresses," edited by Mrs. Barbour.

Professor Drummond: "The Greatest Thing in the World."

Dr. Easton: "Unitarianism."

Rev. C. Salmond: "Princetoniana."

Rev. D. MacColl: "Disciple Life."

Dr. Henry Grey: "The Kingdom of God."

Rev. W. Trail: "Unseen Realities," "Literary Characteristics of the Bible," "The Decalogue not buried when Christ died."

Rev. W. Milroy (Penpont): "A Scottish Communion."

Dr. A. N. Somerville: "The Evangelization of the World."

Dr. Peter Bayne: "The Christian Life," "Testimony of Christ to Christianity."

Dr. A. Andrew: "This Present World."

Rev. Jonathan Anderson: "Sermons on Sacramental Occasions," "A Voice from the Wilderness."

Dr. R. Burns (Toronto): "Office and Duties of the Eldership," "Hints on Ecclesiastical Reform," "Gairloch Heresy Trial."

Dr. T. Morrison: "The Sabbath School Teacher's Handbook."

Dr. R. S. Duff: "Pleasant Places."

W. Brown: "The Tabernacle."

Dr. A. L. R. Foote: "Views of Faith," "Incidents in the Life of Our Lord."

Mrs. A. R. Simpson: "Building for God," "Wells of Water," "Steps Through the Stream," "Visions."

Rev. John M'Neill: "Collected Sermons" (3 vols.).

Dr. Robert Steel: "Doing Good; or, The Christian Walks of Usefulness," "Lives made Sublime by Faith and Works."

Dr. W. K. Tweedie: "Earnest Men: their Life and Work."

Rev. J. A. Wallace (Hawick): "Pastoral Recollections."

Dr. Andrew Bonar: "Nettleton and his Labours."

Rev. R. Philip: "The Comforter."

VIII. *Prophecy*

Dr. Wylie: "The Modern Judea compared with Ancient Prophecy," "The Region of Fulfilled Prophecy," "The Seventh Vial," "The Impending Crisis of the Church and the World," "The Great Exodus."

Dr. Horatius Bonar: "The Schools of the Prophets," "Prophetic Landmarks," "The Coming of the Lord Jesus," "Quarterly Journal of Prophecy" (edited).

Dr. Andrew A. Bonar: "Redemption drawing Nigh."

Mr. W. Wingate: "Close of the Times of the Gentiles."

Principal Fairbairn: "Prophecy: its Nature, Function, and Interpretation."

Principal Brown: "Christ's Second Coming, will it be Pre-Millennial?" "The Restoration of the Jews," "The Apocalypse: its Structure and its Primary Predictions."

Rev. Walter Wood: "Will the Second Coming be Pre-Millennial?" "The Last Things."

Rev. Dr. Edersheim: "Prophecy and History in relation to the Messiah."

Dr. Keith: "Evidence from Prophecy," "Signs of the Times," "Harmony of Prophecy," "Destiny of the World and the Church," "Examination of Elliott's First Six Seals."

Rev. James Gall: "Wherein Millenarians are Wrong."

Rev. Malcolm White: "The Symbolical Numbers of Scripture."

IX. *Social and Home Missionary*

Dr. W. G. Blaikie: "Better Days for Working People," "Heads and Hands in the World of Labour," "Counsel and Cheer for the Battle of Life."

Dr. Guthrie: "The City's Sins and Sorrows," "Plea for Ragged Schools," "Seedtime and Harvest of Ragged Schools," "A Plea for Drunkards and against Drinking."

Professor Miller: "Alcohol: its Place and Power," "Abstinence: its Place and Power."

Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell: "Parish Savings Banks," "The Cottage Fireside."

Rev. J. Tasker: "The Story of the West Port."

Dr. Chalmers: "Lectures on Political Economy," "Social Economics."

William Mitchell (Glasgow): "Rescue the Children."

Dr. Wells: "Rescued and the Rescuers."

Alexander M. Dunlop, M.P.: "Poor Law of Scotland," "Parochial Law."

Rev. Charles Marshall: "Lays and Lectures for Working Men and Women," "The Watchman's Round."

Rev. D. MacColl: "Among the Masses," "Work in the Wynds."

Dr. Begg: "Happy Homes for Working People."

Rev. Thomas Cochrane: "Home Mission Work."

Alexander Thomson of Banchory: "Social Evils: their Cause and Cure," "Punishment and Prevention."

Miss Brewster: "Work: Plenty to do, and how to do it."

X. *For the Young*

Dr. Thain Davidson: "Talks with Young Men," "Forewarned, Forearmed," "The City Youth," "Sure to Succeed," "A Good Start," "Thoroughness."

Dr. James Wells: "Bible Echoes," "Bible Children," "Bible Images," Bible Object Lessons," "The Parables of Jesus," "My First Communion," "Christ and the Heroes of

Heathendom," "The Jubilee Story of the Free Church," "Scotland's Patron Saint," "The Lad."

Dr. Hugh MacMillan: "The Gate Beautiful," "The Daisies of Nazareth."

Rev. J. R. Howatt: "The Children's Pulpit," "The Children's Angel," "The Churchette."

Dr. Hood Wilson: "The King's Message," "The Gospel and its Fruits," "Our Father in Heaven."

Mrs. Barbour: "The Way Home, and How the Little Children reached it by a Railway Accident," "The Irish Orphan in a Scottish Home," "The Child of the Kingdom."

Dr. James Stalker: "The New Song, and other Sermons for the Children's Hour."

Dr. W. K. Tweedie: "Youthful Diligence and Future Greatness," "Seed Time and Harvest; or, Sow Well and Reap Well."

Dr. A. B. Mackay: "Apples of Gold on Salvers of Silver."

Dr. Robert Steel: "The Achievements of Youth."

Dr. Alexander Andrew: "Bible Memories," "Taken from the Plough," etc.

Rev. Charles Salmond: "Thy Saviour," "God and You: Sermonettes for the Young."

Dr. A. A. Bonar: "Palestine for the Young."

Mrs. Riddell: "A Bright Sunset," "Last Days of a Football Player."

Miss Brewster: "Little Nelly and her Four Places."

Mrs. Davidson: "Christian Osborne's Friends."

In this connection the stories of "Cousin Kate," Miss Louisa Gray, Mrs. Meldrum, and Mrs. Cupples may be referred to as all written with a purpose, and as all fitted to interest and instruct the young. Mrs. Hugh Miller in her *Passages in the Life of an English Heiress*, Mrs. Milne Rae in her *Rinaultrie*, and Mrs. Simpson of Turriff in her *Marjory's Story*, have interwoven with their tales the principal incidents of the Disruption.

XI. *Serial Publications*

Long before the Disruption the periodical press had been made considerable use of by the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland. The *Christian Instructor* was begun early in the century, and in the hands of Dr. Andrew Thomson became a great power in the country. That was, in course of time, succeeded by the *Presbyterian Review*, which continued to exist for some time after 1843, and which was edited by, among others, Mr. Alexander Dunlop and Dr. Omond of Monzie. How it came to an end is not clear. Probably amid the engrossments of the period sufficient attention could not be spared for it. One thing, however, was clear. It was not because the men who had left the Established Church had ceased to have confidence in this particular method of influencing public opinion.

The truth is that the faith of the Free Church in the press was manifested in a striking way at the very commencement of its career. As has been seen, the publication of a *Missionary Record* was announced two or three days after the Disruption. But this was not the only periodical with which it started. It also issued a *Monthly Statement*, in which accounts were given of what was being done for the support and extension of the Church; and in the Assembly of 1844 a Cheap Publication Scheme was instituted, which for some years flooded the country with books of a more or less popular description, and with Catechisms and Tracts fitted to instruct the people in Evangelical principles. Among the books so issued were some of the works of Knox, Henderson, and Trail; while among others, the Catechisms of Mr. Gray of Perth were circulated by thousands.

At first the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* was exactly what its name indicated, a "record" of work done;

and the editing of it was a very simple business. India was very much a new country; the missionaries could not write at too great length, and their letters were, in general, printed as they were received. But as things went on, readjustments were seen to be desirable; and in the Assembly of 1850 the report of a Committee was adopted which recommended the amalgamation of the *Record*, the *Monthly Statement*, and the *Monthly Tract*, and the appointment of Mr. Andrew Cameron as Editor of the new journal. As Mr. Cameron was not able, however, at the moment to say whether he could accept the post, the conduct of the magazine was committed in the meantime to Messrs. Nixon of Montrose, Lumsden of Barry, and Wilson of Dundee. The price was fixed at 2d. a number, and the publication was undertaken by an Edinburgh publisher, Mr. Nichol.

In 1851 no change was made. Mr. Cameron had not seen his way to accept the editorship, and the conduct of the *Record* was still left in commission. It was intimated that the circulation had been from 30,000 to 34,000 a month. 1852 came, and the lock continued. But at the November Commission of that year Dr. Wylie was appointed interim Editor, and the appointment was confirmed at the Assembly which followed.

For some reason or other, however, there had been a tendency to decline in the circulation of the journal (it had gone down, indeed, to between 20,000 and 21,000), and in 1855 the question was raised of whether that decline could not be arrested by a reduction in the price. This suggestion was actually carried into effect in 1856, when, by a new arrangement with the publisher, the charge for each number was made 1½d. At the same time it was agreed to allow the introduction of other than "news" matter, in the hope that thereby the interest of readers might be in-

creased. This was recognised as specially necessary, because the decline in the circulation had continued during the year, and was now 18,200.

The change was so far satisfactory; and Dr. Rainy, who had now become the Convener of the Publication Committee, was able, in 1857, to report an increase of 2300 in the circulation; and this might possibly have been greater, if in the meantime a *Monthly Communication*, meant to be *A Collector's Tract*, had not been instituted, with the reading of which many were content.

It was very disappointing, however, to find that, in 1858, neither periodical had been able to keep its ground. The circulation of the *Record* had sunk to 19,530; while that of the *Communication*, from being 52,000, was now only 39,400.

A somewhat disheartening struggle then took place, which continued for some years; and when, in 1862, things were found to be worse than ever, no more than between 17,000 and 18,000 of the journal being taken, it was felt that a radical change behoved to be made in the conduct of the undertaking altogether. Mr. Thomas Nelson was then consulted, and with difficulty was persuaded to meet the crisis. It had been suggested that the publication might be issued weekly instead of monthly, and he was prepared to agree to that, but his help was promised only on one condition, that he should be allowed to name his own editor. This was assented to. Dr. Wylie was induced to retire, and the Rev. James Mackenzie of Dunfermline was (in 1863) installed as his successor.

The change was so far beneficial. The circulation rose again; but it was soon discovered that a weekly issue was a mistake. It was therefore very quickly discontinued, and the periodical started on a new career, at the reduced price of one penny.

With all the energy and enterprise of the publishers, how-

ever, and all the well-known skill and ability of the editor, the success which followed was not signal. The old figure of 30,000 a month was reached, but it seemed impossible to get much beyond that, and in 1869 the circulation appeared actually to tend to droop again. But then the crisis was reached, and from 1870 the progress of the journal was so remarkable as to be worth recording. Here is an abbreviated table showing the stages which were successively reached:—

In 1870	the circulation was	33,500.
„ 1873	„	36,000.
„ 1876	„	40,000.
„ 1880	„	46,000.
„ 1882	„	63,000.
„ 1884	„	70,000.
„ 1887	„	78,000.
„ 1890	„	81,000.
„ 1892	„	82,000.

The steady rise dates from the appointment (on Mr. Mackenzie's death) of Dr. Norman Walker to the editorship, but it is not pretended that the advance was due only or chiefly to him. Among the causes which contributed to the result were the wisdom of the publishers, who twice over enlarged the journal and gave it an outwardly attractive appearance, the arrangement whereby blank covers have been provided enabling congregations to print local news, and, above all things, the growth of the Church's interest in missionary work. It is by no means certain that the *Free Church of Scotland Monthly* makes its way into every one of our families, but its circulation has probably now reached the highest possible point it could reasonably be expected to attain, and the Church may well feel satisfied that it has a journal whose issue is greater than that of most journals of its kind.

Soon after the Disruption, a *Children's Missionary Record* was established, under the conduct of Mr. William Dickson, who was for so many years Convener of the Sabbath School Committee. Its circulation never fluctuated so much as that of the other *Record*, and may be said to have been always good. In the Assembly of 1894 it was reported to be 75,000 a month. On Mr. Dickson retiring from the post on account of ill health, Mr. Thomson of Hightae was appointed Editor, and he held the position for some years. He has now been succeeded by the Rev. William Agnew of Gallatown.

Although those were, in the early days of its history, the only organs expressly recognised as such by the Free Church, there were not a few periodicals in which its interest was very direct. Quite a number of newspapers, for example, openly sided with it, and fought its battles. Among these were *The Witness*, so splendidly edited by Hugh Miller, in Edinburgh, *The Scottish Guardian* in Glasgow, *The Northern Warder* in Dundee, *The Banner* (edited in those days by Professor Masson) in Aberdeen, *The Standard* in Dumfries, *The Border Watch* in Galashiels, and others. Besides, in 1844 a *Free Church Magazine* was established, with Dr. Hetherington as its conductor. This magazine was made over in 1847 to the care of Dr. Andrew Cameron, who again gave place to Dr. Blaikie, in whose hands it remained till 1853, when it was discontinued to make way for two publications, *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, and *The News of the Churches*. Of the former, Dr. Cameron was the first Editor, and was succeeded by Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Smeaton, Dr. M'Crie, Dr. Dykes, Dr. J. S. Candlish, and Dr. Sinclair Paterson. The latter, which was carried on for some years with great vigour, was taken charge of by Drs. Blaikie and Cameron conjointly.

More ambitious than any of these undertakings was that

of the founding of *The North British Review.* That publication has had a curious history. It was established in 1844 by Mr. E. F. Maitland (afterward Lord Barcaple), Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers, and other prominent Free Churchmen, with the object of discussing important subjects from a Christian standpoint. Dr. Welsh edited the first three numbers, and was succeeded by Lord Barcaple, Dr. Hanna, Professor Campbell Fraser, Dr. Duns, and Dr. Blaikie. Afterwards it fell into the hands of Mr. D. Douglas, the publisher, who sold it to Sir John (Lord) Acton for the Roman Catholics. By that time, however, it was moribund, and the change failed to keep it alive. After the issue of a few numbers it disappeared, having run as chequered a career as, probably, any Review of recent years.

There was another venture of a like kind made at an early period whose success was never very great. This was the publication of what was intended to be a Christian magazine of the highest order. *Lowe's Magazine,* as it was called, aimed at serving monthly and in a lighter way the same ends as the *North British Review.* But it never caught the popular breeze, and, in consequence, the course it ran was comparatively short.

At a much later date there have been instituted two journals which have a considerable circulation—*Youth,* edited by Dr. W. Patrick, and *The Helpmeet,* dealing with mission work among women, edited by Miss Rainy.

When, however, we have enumerated the Serials with which the Free Church has been directly connected, we have by no means indicated all that Free Churchmen have done in relation to the periodical press. It may confidently be said that the Church has been peculiarly fortunate in the number of "able editors" it has produced. One of the most remarkable of these was Dr. Andrew Cameron. His health,

to begin with, did not allow him to accept a charge, and he devoted himself in consequence to letters. Besides the journals already referred to as having been under his care, there were three others which he founded, and which he conducted with great success—the *Christian Treasury*, the *Family Treasury*, and (in Australia, where he spent the closing years of his life) *The Southern Cross*.

Dr. Blaikie has also done a great deal of work in this connection. Besides the *Free Church Magazine*, the *News of the Churches*, and the *North British Review*, to which allusion has been made above, he conducted for two years *The Sunday Magazine*, which was established under the editorship of Dr. Guthrie, and took charge while it continued of *The Catholic Presbyterian*.

In later times, younger men have risen whose gifts as editors have been not less conspicuous—Dr. Robertson Nicoll, who succeeded Dr. Cox in the conduct of *The Expositor*, and whose *British Weekly* has received such wide acceptance; the Rev. James Hastings of Kinneff, who in his *Expository Times* has done so much to give a more general interest to biblical criticism; and Professor Salmond, who has gathered around him all the scholars in the kingdom as contributors to his *Critical Review*.

We may fairly claim, also, some interest in the great *Encyclopædias* of the period,—the *Britannica* and that of *Chambers*,—for both have been edited by Free Churchmen, the former by Dr. Robertson Smith and Dr. Sutherland Black, the latter by Dr. David Patrick; while among their contributors are to be found the names of many who have in various ways made their mark in the world. Without naming any who have been or may yet be referred to in connection with independent works of their own, we may mention the following as having written important articles in one or

other of the *Encyclopædias*: the Hon. Ion Keith Falconer, Professor Macalister, Mr. A. Wood Renton, Dr. J. G. Fraser, Professor James Dixon, W. Peddie, D.Sc., T. Raleigh, and Dr. David Patrick. The list, considering the variety of subjects discussed by them, is remarkable enough.

It may also be added that Free Churchmen have had a large interest in the preparation of Dictionaries of a high class. Principal Fairbairn edited for the Messrs. Blackie *The Imperial Bible Dictionary*; Dr. Robert Hunter has had the main if not the exclusive burden of preparing *The Encyclopædic Dictionary* for the Messrs. Cassell; and the very popular *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* issued by Messrs. Nelson was the work of the late Dr. Easton. It is well known, also, that great preparations are now being made for the issue by the Messrs. Clark of a new *Dictionary of the Bible*, whose editing has been undertaken by Mr. Hastings of the *Expository Times*.

A blank would be left in this account if we failed to notice what has been done in connection with the periodical press by Free Churchmen abroad. In 1844 the *Calcutta Review* was established by Sir John Kaye, who himself edited the first few numbers; but in 1845 he resigned the post in favour of Dr. Duff, and for ten years afterwards its conduct was in the hands of a succession of Free Church representatives—Dr. W. S. Mackay, Dr. Thomas Smith, and Dr. George Smith, all of whom contributed largely to its pages. The two last also occupied the chair at later periods. A still earlier journal was *The Friend of India* (a weekly), which was instituted in 1835 by John Clark Marshman, and which was edited for some years by Mr. Townsend, now of *The Spectator*. From 1859 to 1874 this paper was in the hands of Dr. George Smith, who acted at the same time as Correspondent of the *Times*, and who was brought home in the latter year

to take charge of a newspaper in Edinburgh. To a monthly magazine, *The Calcutta Christian Observer*, Duff, Smith, and Mackay contributed many articles; but none of them, so far as we know, became its editor. But soon after its decease another journal was published (a quarterly), *The Indian Evangelical Review*, and this is conducted by Dr. Kenneth Macdonald, one of the Calcutta Free Church missionaries.

In Madras, the *Christian College Magazine* was established in 1883 by Principal Miller, to supply pure literature of a high order to educated natives. It has been edited by Mr. Michie Smith (a brother of Dr. Robertson Smith) and Mr. MacPhail, and is most successful. The *Indian Standard* of Bombay was also edited for some time by two Free Church missionaries, Mr. Alexander and Mr. Scott. And Mr. Campbell of Santalia prints and publishes a Santali magazine.

Of what has been done in Africa we know less, but there is one periodical there which has been vigorously conducted for a long time, *The Christian Express*, at Lovedale, which has now almost reached its three hundredth number. It is edited by Dr. Stewart, and in his absence by Mr. Moir.

XII. *General Literature*

1. Travel and Geography

"A Clerical Furlough": *by Dr. R. Buchanan.*
"The Tent and the Khan": *by R. W. Stewart, D.D.*
"Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews": *by Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.*
"A Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tiber": *by J. A. Wylie, LL.D.*
"A Visit to Palestine": *by J. W. Wylie, LL.D.*
"The Desert of Sinai": *by Horatius Bonar, D.D.*
"Impressions of America and its Church": *by Rev. G. Lewis.*
"The Lands of the Bible": *by John Wilson, D.D.*

"Tropical Africa": *by Professor Drummond.*
"Christianity, East and West": *by Rev. T. G. Clark.*
"Summer Suns in the Far West": *by Professor W. G. Blaikie, D.D.*
"The Cradle of Christianity": *by Rev. D. M. Ross.*
"Wanderings in the Land of Israel": *by Rev. John Anderson.*
"Holidays in High Lands": *by Dr. Hugh MacMillan.*
"Roman Mosaics": *by Dr. Hugh MacMillan.*
"The Riviera": *by Dr. Hugh MacMillan.*
"Our Australian Cousins": *by Hon. James Inglis.*
"Our New Zealand Cousins": *by Hon. James Inglis.*
"Tent Life in Tiger Land": *by Hon. James Inglis.*
"Sport and Work on the Nepaul Frontier": *by Hon. James Inglis.*
"The Churches of Asia: Extracts from Home Letters written in the Region of the Seven Churches": *by Dr. A. N. Somerville.*
"Exploration of Australia from Carpentaria to Melbourne": *by William Landsborough.*
"The Student's Geography of British India": *by George Smith, LL.D.*
"Palestine (Handbook)": *by Archibald Henderson, D.D.*
"Historical Geography of Palestine": *by George A. Smith, D.D.*
"The Least of All Lands; or, The Topography of Palestine": *by Principal Miller, D.D.*
"The Land of Israel": *by Alexander Keith, D.D.*
"A Manual of Modern Geography": *by Rev. Alexander Mackay, LL.D.*
"Elements of Modern Geography": *by Rev. Alexander Mackay, LL.D.*
"The Intermediate Geography": *by Rev. Alexander Mackay, LL.D.*
"Water Highways of Interior Africa": *by James Stevenson.*
"The Country between Kilwa and Tanganyika": *by James Stevenson.*
"Life in India": *by Colonel Davidson.*

"Descriptive Atlas of the World and General Geography": *by W. G. Blackie, LL.D.*

"The Imperial Gazetteer": *by W. G. Blackie, LL.D.*

"Aberdour and Inchcolme": *by Rev. W. Ross, LL.D.*

2. Miscellaneous

"Poetics": *by E. S. Dallas.*

"The Humour of the Scot": *by Hon. James Inglis.*

"Oor Ain Folk": *by Hon. James Inglis.*

"History and Poetry of the Scottish Border": *by Professor Veitch.*

"The Manse Garden": *by Dr. Nathaniel Paterson.*

"Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland," "My Schools and Schoolmasters," "First Impressions of England and its People": *by Hugh Miller.*

"The Cruise of the Betsy": *by Hugh Miller.*

"The Ruined Castles of Midlothian": *by Rev. T. Dickson.*

"Philosophy of the Seasons": *by Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell.*

"Edinburgh, Past and Present": by *J. B. Gillies.*

"The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry": by *Professor Veitch.*

3. Belles-Letters

It would be vain to attempt to give here the names of all who have contributed to the lighter literature of the country. The number of those among us who have written in this connection—in prose and verse (and that in many cases with much ability)—has been very great. We can here mention only a few who have made themselves more or less conspicuous.

One of our earliest poets was Dr. Hetherington, who published a number of pieces more than forty years ago, and to whose versatile pen we also owe a story which was very popular in its day, *The Minister's Family.* Mrs. Stuart Menteath, too, made herself famous long ago by her *Lays of the Kirk and Covenant.* Later came the Rev. J. D. Burns,

Mr. Small of Bervie, Dr. Peter Bayne, and Mr. M'Dowall of Dumfries; and later still, a cluster of better-known writers—Walter C. Smith (with his *Olrig Grange*, etc.); Mrs. Miller Morison (with her *Purpose of the Ages*, etc.); *B. M.* (Barbara Miller) (with her exquisite poem of *Ezekiel*, etc.); Professor Veitch (with his *Merton* and *Hillside Rhymes*); Mrs. Cousin (with her *Immanuel's Land*), and Miss Clephane (with her *Ninety and Nine*); Horatius Bonar (with his many Hymns); and Mr. Crockett (with his *Dulce Cor* and his *Valete Fratres*). Among others who have shown their possession of the poetic gift may be named Mr. Brownlee of Portpatrick and the Rev. John Buchan—the former in his *Hymns of the Pilgrimage*, the latter in his *Tweedside Echoes*. Another true poetess must not be forgotten, although she has always written anonymously,—Miss Borthwick, the "H. L. L." of *Hymns from the Lands of Luther*. Mr. Barbour was also known among his friends as a poet, although he published little, the only book of his given to the public being *Jeroboam's Wife, and other Poems*.

In the department of fiction the Free Church has, of late, been specially conspicuous. Mr. J. M. Barrie, author of *Auld Licht Idylls*, was born and brought up a Free Churchman. Mr. S. R. Crockett, author of *The Raiders*, and Mr. Watson ("Ian Maclaren"), who wrote *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, were both ministers of the Free Church. So is "Fergus Mackenzie" (Mr. Anderson of Dyce), whose *Cruisie Sketches* have made him so well known in the north and elsewhere. To Dr. Alexander of Aberdeen we owe the popular Aberdeenshire story of *Johnny Gibb*; and to Mr. D. S. Meldrum, a Free Churchman from Kirkcaldy, we are indebted for *The Story of Margrédel*, which first ran through *Blackwood*, and which has been so much appreciated since it appeared in a separate form. We can claim an interest, too, in Mr. Andrew

Stewart, the editor of *The People's Friend*, and in Mr. Latto, the editor of *The People's Journal*, who have both gained a reputation—the former by his tale of *A Fair Norwegian*, the latter as the author of those clever sketches which have been published as written by "Tammas Bodkin."

Apart from these, we can only mention the names of George Cupples (*The Green Hand*, etc.); Mrs. Milne Rae (*Morag*, etc.); Mrs. Meldrum (*The Wish and the Way*, etc.); Louisa Gray (*Nellie's Teachers*, etc.); "Cousin Kate" (Miss Bell) (*The Huguenot Family*, etc.); Dr. Kennedy Moore (*Craigrowan*, etc.); Mrs. George Cupples (*The Little Captain*); with James Dodds, Jessie P. Findlay, James Kay, Neish, Smeaton, Mrs. Mackay, Hannah B. Mackenzie, and many others.

4. Philosophy and Science

Among our earliest philosophical writers were President M'Cosh of Princeton, Professor Macdougall, and Professor Fraser. Dr. M'Cosh wrote largely—his most famous works being on *Psychology*, *The Emotions*, and *The Intuitions of the Human Mind inductively investigated*. An article on Leibnitz, which appeared in 1846, led to the appointment of Dr. Campbell Fraser to a chair in New College, and he has since issued *Essays in Philosophy*, and *Rational Philosophy*, besides publishing the *Life and Letters of Bishop Berkeley*. He has also been one of the Gifford Lecturers. Professor Macdougall was not spared to do so much as was expected of him. His only book is one consisting of *Papers on Literary and Philosophical Subjects*.

Professor Knight has gained a reputation as Editor of the *Philosophical Classics*, and as the author of *Aspects of Theism*.

Professor Veitch is specially known as a favourite disciple of Sir William Hamilton, and as his Biographer. He has written on *Speculative Philosophy*, and *Descartes*.

Among the more distinguished writers of a later date

Professor Sorley and Professor Seth may be named—the former the author of *The Ethics of Naturalism*; the latter, of *Scottish Philosophy*, and *Hegelianism and Personality*.

Dr. Abercrombie may also be named in this connection, although he was most famous as a physician. He published books on *The Intellectual Powers*, and *The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*.

Not a few others might be referred to as having shown their possession of the philosophic spirit of the nation—such as Mr. John Henry Muirhead, who has written *The Elements of Ethics*, and edited *The Library of Philosophy*; Mr. James Bonar, who has contributed to that Library a volume on *Philosophy and Political Economy in some of their Historical Relations*; and the Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick, who, in his Handbook on *Bishop Butler's Sermons*, has exhibited the acuteness and knowledge of a capable student.

The contributions made to science have been more numerous. At the Disruption there were three men who were prominently associated with that event, and who at the same time were specially well known in the scientific world. One was Hugh Miller, whose great work was the popularising of geology in the pages of the *Witness*, and who, among a number of books, wrote in his *Footprints of the Creator* a reply to the *Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation*. A second was Dr. John Fleming, the greatest Scottish zoologist of his day. In 1843 he was Professor of Natural History in Aberdeen, but two years later he was translated to a similar post in New College. The work by which he was most distinguished is *The Philosophy of Zoology*, the plates for which were taken from drawings by his wife. The third is Sir David Brewster, who was in succession Principal of the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and whose

discoveries in Optics have made him famous all over the world. The total number of his contributions to learned Societies between 1806 and 1868 are stated to have been no fewer than 415. He was Editor of the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, and among his more important works are treatises on *New Philosophical Instruments*, and on *Magnetism*.

Another man belonging to the same era is well entitled to be associated with those just named—Dr. David Landsborough. He was a Disruption minister, whose location by the seashore led to his becoming interested in what was to be seen there. His sons inherited his tastes, and he and his family have added nearly seventy new species to the plants and animals of Scotland. Dr. Landsborough has written Histories of British Seaweed and Zoophites, but the book by which he is best known is *Excursions to Arran, Ailsa Craig, and the Two Cumbraes, with special reference to the Natural History of these Islands*.

Dr. Hugh Mitchell of Craig, another minister of the Free Church, has not left behind him many publications, but it is something to say of him that his collection of fossils is now in the Natural History department of the British Museum, and that the names of his specimens occupy nearly seven pages of the catalogue.

Sir James Y. Simpson was chiefly eminent as a physician, but he was also an authority on "Archaic Sculpturings," and his wide culture was recognised by his being made a D.C.L. of Oxford.

Another medical man who has distinguished himself as a scientist is Dr. J. G. M'Kendrick, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. He is known specially as a physiologist, his most important work being *Text-Book of Physiology*, published in 1888–89.

Dr. David Ferrier may also be named here. The chair

of Neuro-Pathology, which he now fills in King's College, London, was founded for him. His specialty has been the brain. He is the editor of a journal devoted to its study, and has done a great deal to increase our knowledge of cerebral diseases. His best-known book is that on *The Functions of the Brain.*

Professor Dickson was unfortunately cut down in his prime. He filled the chair of Botany in the University of Edinburgh with distinction, and he wrote many papers, which have appeared in the Transactions of Societies, but he published no books. He was an authority on all subjects connected with the development and morphology of plants.

The highest living authority on the Architecture and Antiquities of India is now Dr. James Burgess, C.S.E. While in the East he took a leading part in Government Archæological Surveys, and edited a monthly journal entitled *The Indian Antiquary.* Since his return home he has edited two large quarto volumes, *Epigraphia Indica.*

Dr. Duns, Professor of Natural Science in the New College, has made himself known as a scientific apologist. In the *North British Review,* which he edited for four years, and in many other journals, he has defended the biblical records against the assaults of unbelief. Besides many papers read before learned Societies, he has published books on *Biblical and Natural Science,* and on *Science and Christian Thought.*

The Professor of Natural Science in Glasgow, Mr. Henry Drummond, has been one of our most popular writers, and in his various books he has shown himself to be possessed of a great amount of special knowledge; but he cannot be said to have taught science for its own sake, and the value of his speculations is yet a matter of discussion. Many striking observations are to be found in his *Tropical Africa.*

A very well-known man in the scientific world is Dr. William Carruthers, Keeper of the Botanical Department in the British Museum. He has written numerous papers for the Royal Societies of which he is a Fellow, and has published, among other things, on *Fossil Rocks and their Testimony.*

Another Scottish Free Churchman who has made himself heard of beyond the Border is Professor J. A. Ewing, who fills the chair of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics in the University of Cambridge. He has published works on *Magnetic Induction in Iron and other Metals*, and on *The Steam Engine and other Heat Engines.*

Returning to Scotland, other names deserve mention: Mr. Thomson of Banchory, who was an antiquarian authority, and who founded the "Thomson Science Lectureship" in Aberdeen; Dr. James Macdonald, a distinguished archæologist in the West of Scotland; Mr. James Keddie, who was for a long time Lecturer on Natural Science in the Glasgow Free Church College; Mr. Robert Kidston, who has made a special study of the carboniferous flora, and is one of our best authorities on palæobotany; and Dr. Robert Boog Watson, who was described, when presented to the University of Edinburgh to receive the degree of LL.D., as one of the highest living authorities on conchology. Dr. Watson's special gifts have been exhibited to the world in two large volumes, representing some of the fruits and results of the Challenger Expedition. The others named have found channels for the publication of their thoughts and discoveries chiefly through the Transactions of the learned Societies. How much treasure is buried there can be known only to those who give themselves the trouble to search for it.

The list which follows must contain only the names of some of the men who have distinguished themselves, with an example of the writings which have made them known:—

Dr. Hugh MacMillan: *First Forms of Vegetation; The Archæology of Scripture.*

Professor R. O. Cunningham of Queen's College, Belfast: *Notes on the Natural History of the Straits of Magellan.*

G. R. M. Murray, F.R.S.E., British Museum: *Catalogue of the Marine Algæ of the West Indian Region.*

Dr. Joseph Anderson: *Archæology.*

Professor Cargill Knott: *Electricity.*

A. T. Omond: *Clouds, Hail,* etc.

Alexander Buchan, LL.D.: *Introductory Text Book of Meteorology.*

Dr. Ferguson: *Electricity.*

Not a few of the ministers of the Free Church besides those referred to have shown that they possess gifts in this connection which might have brought them fame if they had felt fully free to exercise them. It will not be forgotten that Chalmers was a candidate for the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Laughton, again, says of Dr. Thomas Brown, the author of the *Annals of the Disruption,* that "the natural bent of his mind might have inclined him to devote his life to scientific pursuits." While, among the works actually published by Dr. Thomas Smith and Dr. John Forbes, are one on *Plane Geometry,* and another on *The Differential Calculus.*

We have spoken of several medical men who have done scientific work, we may also notice some who have distinguished themselves by their contributions to the literature of their own profession.

Perhaps the most famous Scottish physician of his day was Dr. Abercrombie. His place as such was recognised when he was elected Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen. The subject which most interested him, and on which he wrote most, was the Brain.

Scarcely less distinguished in his time was Sir James

Simpson, who was for so many years the centre of medical life in Edinburgh. He is specially remembered in connection with his efforts to diminish suffering by the use of chloroform, etc. Among his numerous works two are specially characteristic, one on *Anæsthesia*, and another on *Acupressure*.

Many still cherish the memory of the two Begbies, father and son. The works of the latter, Dr. Warburton Begbie, received the almost unique distinction of having been published by the Sydenham Society—that Society having confined itself almost exclusively to the translation of foreign books.

One of the most prominent members of the early Free Church Assemblies was Professor Miller. His works on the *Principles and Practice of Surgery* were in their day highly esteemed.

Professor Spence was less known to the lay public, but, while he lived, he was the great authority on tracheotomy, and the Text Book which he published from his lectures was recognised as of undoubted value.

Coming to men still living, mention may be made of Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart, to whom we owe distinctly original contributions toward the cure of Bright's Disease; Dr. Patrick Heron Watson, who has found time, amid the engrossments of a great active practice, to write several suggestive, practical papers; Dr. Joseph Bell, who has for a long time edited the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, and whose *Manual of Operative Surgery* has gone through many editions; Dr. Affleck, who has written for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* articles on Bronchitis, Diphtheria, Pleurisy, and Pneumonia; Drs. Barbour and Berry Hart, whose work in the department of medicine with which they are specially connected is reckoned of authority; and Dr. James Carmichael, who has written on the Diseases of Children.

There are others who ought, no doubt, to be included in

this list, but those are among the men who stand out very prominently in the metropolis, and may be taken as illustrating the fact that that intellectual activity which has appeared in so many connections within the Free Church is not less marked in the department of medicine.

XIII. *Translation Work*

It is only reasonable that some reference should be made here to the part taken by representatives of the Free Church in the way either of rendering into English works written in other tongues, or of speaking to foreigners in their own languages.

(1) Something has been done by their means to increase acquaintance with the early Greek and Latin Christian Fathers. The works of St. Augustine have been published under the editorship of Dr. Marcus Dods; and one of the conductors of the Ante-Nicene Library was Professor Roberts, who, to begin with, was minister of the Free Church of Stonehaven. Among those who translated the books for these two series were Professor Gibb, Dr. Reith, Dr. Salmond, Dr. Thomas Smith, Dr. Dods, Dr. J. G. Cunningham, and Messrs. Richard Stothert, Wilson of Musselburgh, W. Findlay, Wilson of Glenluce, and Innes of Panbride.

(2) A large number of men have taken part in translating books from the German. Among these have been—Principal Fairbairn (Steiger on 1*st Peter*, and Lisco on *The Parables*); Dr. Easton (Delitzsch's *Proverbs*, vol. ii., and Keil's *Daniel*); Principal Douglas (Keil's *Introduction*, and Delitzsch's *Isaiah*); Rev. James Kennedy, B.D. (Keil's *Jeremiah*, Delitzsch's *Isaiah*, Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, Oosterzee's *Moses*); Rev. Lewis Muirhead (Rhiem's *Messianic Prophecy*); Rev. Neil Buchanan (Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology* and

Harnack's *History of Dogmas*); Rev. John Wilson (Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*); Rev. John MacPherson (Buhl's *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Schürer's *Jewish People*, Ebrard's *Apologetics*, Räbriger's *Encyclopædia*); Rev. Alexander Cusin (Steinmeyer's *Passion History*, Delitzsch's *Isris*, Keil's *Archæology*); Rev. William Findlay (Harless's *Christian Ethics*); Rev. R. T. Cunningham (Dorner's *Ethics*); Rev. A. J. Campbell (König's *History of Israel*); Rev. David Eaton (Weiss's *New Testament Theology*); Rev. Thomas Crerar (Steinmeyer's *Passion History*); Rev. Dr. Bannerman (Meyer's *Commentary on 1st Corinthians*); Rev. James Duguid (Weiss's *New Testament Theology*); Professor Harper (Keil's *Chronicles*); Rev. Theodore Meyer (Hengstenberg's *Theology*, Baumgarten's *Apostolic History*); Rev. William Affleck, B.D. (Martensen's *Individual Ethics*); Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D. (*Mutual Relations of Missions and Culture; Outline of the History of Protestant Missions*, by Warneck); Dr. Bannerman (*The Will o' the Wisp; or, St. John's Eve in the Forest*); Rev. W. Stevenson (Back's *Outline of Christian Doctrine*); Norman Walker, M.D., F.R.C.P. (*Leprosy*, by Dr. Hansen, Government Inspector-General, Norway).

(3) The number of translations from the French have been much fewer. Two important works, however, have been rendered into English by the Rev. William Affleck, namely, Janet's *Final Causes*, and Godet's *Introduction to the New Testament*. The Rev. Alexander Cusin has also translated Godet's Commentaries on Luke, John, Romans, and Corinthians. And by Dr. Thomas Smith there is a translation of Vinet's *Études sur Pascal*.

(4) The literary work done by our missionaries has been considerable. So far as a large part of India was concerned, the business of Bible translation had been accomplished before the Church of Scotland had entered the field; but

Dr. Wilson of Bombay was constantly in the habit of publishing writings of his own in the native languages. For example, he issued a Refutation of Mohammedanism in Persian, and an Exposure of Hinduism in Marathi. At a later period, however, missions were established among the aboriginal tribes, and the necessity arose then of providing for the instruction of the people. Mr. Dawson of Chindwara accordingly translated two Gospels for the Gonds, and Mr. Andrew Campbell has printed quite a number of books, religious and otherwise, for the use of the Santals.

In the New Hebrides, again, the whole Bible, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the *Shorter Catechism* were translated into Aneityumese by Dr. John Inglis. The Gospels, and at least one book of the Old Testament (Exodus), have been rendered into Fatunese by Mr. Copeland and Dr. Gunn; while Mr. Milne has translated the Gospels into Nguna.

But nowhere have the missionaries of the Free Church been so laborious in this connection as in Africa. The Kafir Bible was not translated by Dr. Bryce Ross, but he was one of the most important members of the Committee which lately revised it. In the Livingstonia region there was a freer field. There the languages had never been reduced to writing, and everything had to be done to meet the wants of the people, who gathered in great numbers to the schools. In the business of translating books for them, Dr. Laws has taken the chief part, but he has been ably assisted by others, including his wife. "High praise," says the British Commissioner, in his Report to the Government, "must be given to the missionaries of British Central Africa for the extent and value of their linguistic studies. In a way, the Livingstonia Mission stands first as regards the value of its contributions to our knowledge of African languages. Dr. Laws has published, at different times, vocabularies of the

Chinyanja, Chikunda, and Chitonga tongues. Dr. Elmslie has written some really valuable works on the Tumbuka language, and on the dialect of Zulu spoken by the Angoni, besides numerous other contributions to African philology. The late Dr. Henry, of the same mission, has published the best grammar extant of Chinyanja; and the late Mr. Bain commenced a vocabulary of the language spoken at the north end of Lake Nyassa."

Among the works done by the men named may be mentioned:—(1) *By Dr. Laws:* Translation of the New Testament into Nyanja, and of Mark into Tonga, and also of many Primers and Readers for the use of the schools. (2) *By Mr. Bain:* Translation of Mark, Jonah, and the Parables and Miracles of Christ into Wanda, and of Mark and Hymns into Nkonde. (3) *By Dr. Elmslie:* Translation of Mark, Sermon on the Mount, Parables, Decalogue, Hymns, etc., into Ngoni. (4) *By Dr. Henry:* Translation of the Book of Genesis and the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Chinyanja.

(5) One other branch of this subject may have a moment's attention. To what extent the writings of Free Churchmen have been rendered into other languages it would be impossible to tell. But several things are known which are of some interest.

Perhaps no book produced among us has had such a circulation as *Harry's Catechism*, by Miss Rainy. It has been found peculiarly suitable for use in missionary work, and hence it has been rendered into Tamil, Telugu, Santali, and Hindustani, in India; into Futunese in the New Hebrides; and into Kafir, Zulu, Nyanja, and Ngoni in Africa. It has also been issued in French, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, and Gaelic.

The next author who has been most distinguished in this way is Dr. Stalker. His *Life of Christ* has appeared in German, Bulgarian, Japanese, and Chinese; his *Life of St.*

Paul, in Spanish and Bulgarian; his *Imago Christi*, in German, Norwegian, Swedish, Bulgarian, and Japanese; and his *Preacher and his Models*, in Norwegian. Other translations have no doubt taken place of which no report has reached us, but of these copies are inaccessible.

Dr. Hugh MacMillan has had a number of his books reproduced in other languages. His *Bible Teachings in Nature*, for example, has been translated into Danish, Swedish, Russian, Italian, and Spanish; his *Ministry of Nature*, into Norwegian and Swedish; and his *Two Worlds are Ours*, into German. But these do not represent all that has been done with his works. It is known that other translations have been made without being reported.

Several of Professor W. G. Blaikie's works have been similarly honoured. His *Life of Livingstone* has been translated both into German and French; his *Inner Life of Our Lord*, into German and Dutch; and his *Public Ministry* and *Better Days for Working People*, into German. Dr. Candlish's Handbook on the Sacraments, and Principal Douglas's on Joshua, have also been rendered into Welsh.

Almost all the works of Professor Drummond, especially those of a practical kind, have also been reissued in not a few foreign lands; and Dr. Wells' *Heroes of Heathendom* have appeared in Welsh and Bohemian.

One more circumstance of interest must be mentioned, namely, that Principal Brown's Commentaries on the Gospels and Acts have been rendered into Servian, and that expositions of the same portions of Scripture have been given in Italian by the late Dr. Stewart of Leghorn.

This is but a sample of what has taken place. We have no means of making sure of what has altogether been doing in this way, and many other books doubtless have appeared

abroad than those named. It is certain, for example, that the *Life of M'Cheyne* exists in other languages besides English and the Gaelic.

One other curious circumstance may be referred to. It is this, that while all German books of criticism and theology of importance are reproduced here in English, the Germans do not take the trouble of publishing ours on such subjects in their own language.

NOTE.—We regret that we have not been able to make out a list of the Law Books written by Free Churchmen. One single firm in Edinburgh announces the publication of Mr. Renton on "*Summary Criminal Trials*"; Mr. Coldstream on "*Procedure in the Court of Session*"; Sheriff Guthrie Smith on "*The Law of Damages*", Lord Fraser on "*Husband and Wife*"; Mr. Howden on "*Trusts*"; Mr. Monteith Smith on "*Expenses in Supreme and Sheriff Courts*"; and Mr. Watt on "*An Outline of Legal Philosophy.*"

CHAPTER XIX

"AFTER FIFTY YEARS"

A REPETITION took place in 1893 of what had occurred fifty years before. Around the Moderator's chair there gathered the representatives of many Churches at home and abroad, who came to offer their congratulations to the Free Church on its reaching its jubilee. Presbyterian deputies appeared from Scotland, England, Ireland, Wales, Australasia, Africa, the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. The Congregational and Baptist Unions, on both sides of the Border, also sent their salutations. The Wesleyan Methodists did the same. Visitors came with messages of goodwill from Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Bohemia, and Switzerland. And among the individuals from whom complimentary communications were received were Professor Godet of Neuchatel and Mr. Gladstone. The amount of interest displayed on the occasion by so many sister Churches was naturally felt to be exceedingly gratifying, as bearing testimony to the fact that the Disruption had not been in vain, and that what had been accomplished by those who took part in it was not unworthy of general recognition.

Up till this time the chair of the Assembly had been filled by ministers who were ordained before 1843, with but one notable exception. In 1887 it was felt that the preeminent claims of Dr. Rainy could not be postponed, and he was then elected to the Moderatorship by acclamation.

Dr. Rainy was born at Glasgow in 1826, his father being a medical professor in the University there. After receiving his school and undergraduate education in his native city, he entered New College as one of Dr. Cunningham's earliest students. His first charge was Huntly, to which he was inducted in 1850, but four years later he was called to Edinburgh to succeed Dr. Gordon in the High Church. There he remained till 1862, when he was appointed Professor of Church History—becoming also Principal of New College in 1874. His predecessors in the two offices were Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish.

The business of the General Assembly has come to be conducted very much after the Parliamentary model. At first its harmony was so complete that no "sides" were apparent in it. But as time wore on, tendencies revealed themselves, and a Right and a Left were formed—the Right being the more progressive of the two. As this represented the majority in the Church, the leading man in it was naturally called to preside as Convener of the Business Committee, and from his occupying that post it became the custom to think of him as the "Leader of the House." It is interesting to know that this function has been exercised since the Disruption by only three men, and certainly no Church was ever better served than the Free Church has been by them. Dr. Candlish was succeeded by Dr. Robert Buchanan, and he again by Dr. Rainy. Dr. Candlish was a brilliant speaker as well as an able administrator. Dr. Buchanan's diction was perfect, and he never spoke but with weight and power, but he had not the brightness of his friend, and was less distinguished as a debater. Dr. Rainy combines in a measure the peculiarities of both; along with much of the calm and dignified wisdom of Buchanan, he displays, when occasion calls for it, his possession of oratorical qualities which make him trench-

ant in discussion. The unselfishness of the three men, their single-hearted devotion to the interests of their Church and of the cause which it represented to them, has been most conspicuous. And they have been rewarded with a loyalty which could hardly be surpassed. It is, in any case, an outstanding illustration of the esteem in which Dr. Rainy has been held, that his name appears alone as Moderator in the long list of Pre-Disruption ministers.

With the beginning of a new era a new order was introduced, and the chair of the Jubilee Assembly was occupied by Dr. Walter Smith, who was ordained in 1850. He had made himself famous alike as a poet and as a preacher, and to him belongs the unique distinction of having received honorary degrees from three of our Universities.

In this closing chapter two or three questions suggest themselves, to which it may be desirable to attempt to give some answers.

For example, it may be asked: Has the Free Church fulfilled the expectations which were entertained about it at the Disruption?

To give a satisfactory answer to that question, it would be necessary to know what these expectations were, and that is a point about which there is great uncertainty. Of one thing we are sure, that in 1843 there was a grand demonstration of the supremacy of conscience. Chalmers may have had his beliefs as to the sustaining power of Christian liberality, but it is certain that his pictures and predictions of what might be, were regarded by most of his brethren as purely Utopian, and it was true in a very real sense that many retired from the Establishment not knowing what was to become of them. Ministers of the highest reputation could be named who had no other thought than that they would be obliged to emigrate. All that they could say was that it was impossible for them

to do otherwise than they did. In the case of such men, there can be no doubt that what took place afterwards went quite beyond their most sanguine imaginings.

On the other hand, however, this must be added, that the experiences of the period began very soon to put a new aspect on things. The extraordinary enthusiasm which the event called forth, the notable religious awakening which followed, the encouragement which came from abroad in the shape, for example, of the accession of all the missionaries, and the unprecedented freedom with which means were furnished to do all that was required, had, one might say, something of an intoxicating effect, and the idea came to be entertained that the Church might ignore the Establishment, and adequately and alone perform all the functions of a National Institution. That the dream has not been realised, is evident. Its own enlargement has, indeed, been remarkable, and works have been accomplished by it both at home and abroad such as it never thought of. But the Established Church has rallied in a way it did not calculate upon, and now the relative positions of the two Churches are very different from what they were at first.

But other things have happened which were not at all anticipated either. It was not expected, for instance, that the party which insisted on Disruption for the sake of patronage would come to be willing to sacrifice the very boon for which they paid so dear a price, nor that they should grow to be so anxious to bring back those they had driven forth as to be ready to reconstruct the Establishment in their interest; and Chalmers and his friends would doubtless have been surprised if the prophecy had been uttered in their hearing, that the time would come when their Church would hesitate to form a new alliance with the State on any terms whatever.

In view of all this, it will be seen how difficult it is to

answer the question we have asked—so many considerations require to be taken account of. But of one thing we are quite certain, that when the men who came out in 1843 signed the Deed by which they surrendered their livings, they did so without the remotest expectation that a Church would arise out of the act, with 1100 ministers, and an income of £700,000 a year. What they did was at the bidding of conscience, and they left the issue in the hands of God.

But there is another question of more practical interest which may be asked: What have been the results of the Disruption and of the formation of the Free Church?

Some of the lessons taught in this connection have been very plain and outstanding. The letter quoted by Mr. Gladstone in an earlier page speaks of one. He tells of a friend of his, "a conscientious and earnest-minded Roman Catholic," who had told him that "amidst his discouragements in witnessing the progress of unbelief, he had found a singular comfort in the testimony borne by the ministers and members of the Free Church of Scotland to the authority of conscience and of positive religious belief." Dr. Walter Smith, in his opening address in the Jubilee Assembly, referred to the same thing, and spoke of what might have been the consequence if an unworthy compromise had been come to in 1843. Had those who were seeking it succeeded, he said, "we should not have witnessed that greatest act of faith which our age has seen, and men would probably have lapsed into utter disbelief in the existence of any spiritual powers willing in these days to endure martyr sufferings for conscience sake." "The revival of belief," he added, "in the commanding power of spiritual things was in itself worth all that the Church had then to endure."

A second thing which the Disruption did was to strike a new note in Christian liberality. A higher style of giving

was then inaugurated,—and not only so. Giving was organised. A new word came to pass current in all the Churches. How the adequate "sustentation" of the ministry could be accomplished, especially in communions not supported by States, was a question for the solution of which the Free Church was looked to. And that Church has been able to demonstrate, in a way which has deprived Disestablishment of its terrors, how a whole country, even in its remotest recesses, can be provided with an educated clergy independently of all endowments.

Other results have followed, of which it is less easy to speak. Sir Alexander Grant, for example, refers to some of them, when, in his *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, he says: "The ecclesiastical conflicts of the present century produced an effect on the University such as the tragic and bloody strifes of the seventeenth century had never done. There can be no doubt that to the Disruption of 1843 the University owes (1) the emancipation of its lay professors, (2) a free spirit in the country which greatly tended to the reform of the Universities, and (3) many important features of the Universities Act of 1858."

The "free spirit" of which Sir Alexander speaks displayed itself in other ways besides those he mentions. Whether we may think the issue good or bad in itself, there can be no doubt that the mistake of the Conservative Government in 1843 made Scotland the politically Liberal country which it has always been since. To the Disruption also may be ascribed in a large measure the quickening of the national life in many directions. And if the Free Church had never existed, it is highly improbable that we should have had a national system of education, or many of the reforms which have contributed to our intellectual and material activity.

Just one more consequence of the Disruption may be

spoken of, namely, that by it the doctrine of the spirituality of the Church and of its essential independence has been proclaimed with an emphasis which has affected the attitude of more States and Churches than our own. Our Scottish judges—some of them, at least—still remain where they were. A Church is to them no more than "a voluntary association." But such outrages as were committed before 1843, when men were forbidden to preach the gospel within a certain area, and Presbyteries were ordered, under pain of damages, to proceed to ordination, and spiritual sentences were treated with contempt, could not now conceivably take place; and the Established Church of Scotland has come to view things from so different a standpoint, that, instead of scoffing at spiritual independence, it is eager to show that it possesses it. In plain terms, by its great act of self-denial fifty years ago, the Free Church has done much to secure not only its own liberties, but the liberties of other Churches as well, while politicians also have been led to consider anew what ought to be the relations of States to religion.

It will be asked, however: Has the Free Church itself undergone no material alteration? Is it the same — in doctrine, ritual, and spirit—as it was in 1843?

We may freely confess that changes have taken place, and that the Church can no longer pretend to be "anchored over the Disruption." It has gone forward with the age, for example, so far as to have sanctioned the use of hymns, and declared that it sees nothing unscriptural in the use of instrumental music in churches. It has also ceased to think that the only way in which a State can maintain national religion is by establishing a Church. Perhaps we may go farther, and admit that it is no longer possessed by the passion and earnestness which distinguished it fifty years ago, and that its theological attitude is not, in some respects, quite the

same as it was. It is, indeed, quite unwarrantable to say that the Free Church has now accepted as proved the teachings of Professor Robertson Smith. So far is that from being the case, that the relation of its ministry as a body to the Bible is practically unchanged, and that there is a marked tendency to a reaction in reference even to some critical questions that were once accepted. But it is undeniable that new views of, for example, inspiration have been taken in some quarters, and that the preaching which is heard at times is to a certain extent different from what it used to be.

What change has taken place in the preaching it would be difficult to explain. Those who think they know the "newer school," say that it has not at all ceased to be Calvinistic or Evangelical. But they contend that its preaching is more "ethical" than that of the fathers was, and that doctrines are now presented in juster proportion. Of one thing we are assured, that among the highest class of our rising men there is no disposition to forsake the old evangel. Dr. Denney's recently published *Studies in Theology* introduces us to one who holds very advanced opinions about inspiration, but who tells us what is the gospel which he believes must be proclaimed to men. That is nothing else than the old gospel,—redemption through the atoning sacrifice of Christ,—and his views are enforced with an earnestness which is plainly the outcome of profound conviction. The Free Church was the issue of an evangelical revival. Throughout all its history it has been its glory to preach the doctrines of grace; if it were to cease to do this, its chief *raison d'être* would be destroyed. And we are thankful to know that, although all may not be clear as to how God speaks to us in Holy Scripture, and our methods of presenting the truth may have come in some ways to vary, yet our attitude doctrinally remains the same, and that ministers

continue to preach no other gospel than that which we have received.

How far all the changes referred to have been satisfactory, is a question which, of course, people will answer according to their light. But this has to be remembered, that we are in a transition time, and that we are not, as yet, in a condition to pronounce finally upon them. The last word, for one thing, has not yet, by any means, been spoken about criticism and inspiration, and for the present we can only congratulate ourselves that the Free Church has hitherto come through the strain put upon it with its evangelism unaffected. The ecstasy, as it has been called, of the Disruption has gone, but not "the spirit of service" which was one of its most marked characteristics. Of that a striking proof was recently given. It seems that there are now at work in different parts of the world 202 medical missionaries holding diplomas from British Colleges. One hundred and one of these were trained in Scotland, and of the 101 a very large number was furnished by the Free Church. That is one illustration out of many which might be given, that although the peculiar fervour of the Disruption era has gone, there is no subsidence in the spirit of devotion by which the Church was then distinguished.

But has the Free Church now any special "mission"? Is there any work which it lies more immediately to its hand to do?

We may answer that, for one thing, the ends of its Protest have not yet been completely accomplished. What took place in 1874, when the Government is said to have "abolished patronage," was not the concession to the Church of its essential liberties. It was simply the transference of an ecclesiastico-civil qualification from one set of persons to another, the manner in which the new franchise can be legally exer-

cised being expressly defined by Act of Parliament. This is not recognised as implying a satisfactory relation of the State to the Church, and we must continue to protest until the Legislature admits that it belongs of right to the Church alone to determine the manner in which the pastoral tie is to be formed.

For the same reason an obligation is laid upon us to continue to object to the existing Establishment, because it allows the civil authorities to say who should sit in its Courts, and, chiefly, because it virtually submits to the English dictum that the Queen is supreme in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical. Of course it disputes the last contention, but the fact remains that its history, as illustrated by the proceedings of its first separate Assembly in 1843, has no meaning unless it is conceded that the right of the State to the last word in connection with all questions of doubtful jurisdiction was then deliberately acknowledged.

Apart, however, from all this, there are other functions to the exercise of which the Free Church seems specially called, and among these are two: one, to recover the waste places which are now, alas! to be found everywhere—in town and country; another, to endeavour to bring about a union of all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches in the interest of the national religion. The breaches which have taken place in the country can all be shown to have had justification. There is not one of them but has a history of which nobody need be ashamed. But our present divided condition is a scandal and a misfortune. Three congregations are often maintained in parishes where one would suffice, while many neglected localities are crying out for more attention being given to them. And, all the while, the Church continues broken up into fragments which have almost everything in common, and which have always come

together where the pressure of outward circumstances has been withdrawn. In this connection the Free Church may be said to occupy a central position. On the one hand, it is so far in touch with the Church which is in union with the State, by holding theoretically the Establishment principle; on the other, it has proved its substantial identity with the United Presbyterian Church by years of actual negotiation. These attributes may not qualify her altogether for acting as mediator in the undertaking, but they at least impose upon her an obligation to try to bring about a consummation which so many consider to be so desirable.

APPENDIX I

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Moderators between 1843 *and* 1895.

1843 (May). Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Edinburgh.
1843 (Oct). Thomas Brown, D.D., Glasgow.
1844. Henry Grey, D.D., Edinburgh.
1845 (May and Aug.). Patrick M'Farlan, D.D., Greenock.
1846. Robert James Brown, D.D., Aberdeen.
1847. James Sieveright, D.D., Markinch.
1848. Patrick Clason, D.D., Edinburgh.
1849. Mack. Mackay, LL.D., Dunoon.
1850. Nath. Paterson, D.D., Glasgow.
1851. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., Calcutta.
1852. Angus Makellar, D.D., Edinburgh.
1853. John Smyth, D.D., Glasgow.
1854. James Grierson, D.D., Errol.
1855. James Henderson, D.D., Glasgow.
1856. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., LL.D.
1857. James J. Wood, D.D., Dumfries.
1858. Alexander Beith, D.D., Stirling.
1859. William Cunningam, D.D., Edinburgh.
1860. Robert Buchanan, D.D., Glasgow.
1861. Robert S. Candlish, D.D., Edinburgh.
1862. Thomas Guthrie, D.D., Edinburgh.
1863. Roderick M'Leod, Snizort.
1864. Patrick Fairbairn, D.D., Glasgow.
1865. James Begg, D.D., Edinburgh.
1866. William Wilson, D.D., Dundee.
1867. John Roxburgh, D.D., Glasgow.
1868. William Nixon, D.D., Montrose.
1869. Sir H. W. Monereiff, Bart., D.D.
1870. John Wilson, D.D., Bombay.
1871. Robert Elder, D.D., Rothesay.
1872. Charles J. Brown, D.D., Edinburgh.
1873. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh.
1874. R. W. Stewart, D.D., Leghorn.
1875. Alexander Moody-Stuart, D.D., Edinburgh.
1876. Thomas M'Lauchlan, LL.D., Edinburgh.
1877. William Henry Goold, D.D., Edinburgh.
1878. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., Glasgow.
1879. James C. Burns, D.D., Kirkliston.
1880. Thomas Main, D.D., Edinburgh.
1881. William Laughton, D.D., Greenock.
1882. Robert Macdonald, D.D., North Leith.
1883. Horatius Bonar, D.D., Edinburgh.
1884. Walter Ross Taylor, D.D., Thurso.
1885. David Brown, D.D., Aberdeen.
1886. A. N. Somerville, D.D., Glasgow.
1887. Robert Rainy, D.D., Edinburgh.
1888. Gustavus Aird, D.D., Creich.
1889. John Laird, D.D., Cupar-Fife.
1890. Thomas Brown, D.D., Edinburgh.
1891. Thomas Smith, D.D., Edinburgh.
1892. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh.
1893. Walter C. Smith, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh.
1894. George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Glasgow.
1895. J. Hood Wilson, D.D., Edinburgh.

Clerks since 1843.

Rev. Thomas Pitcairn.
Rev. Dr. Clason.
Rev. William Wilson, D.D.
Sir H. W. Monereiff, D.D.
Rev. Andrew Melville, D.D.
Rev. A. Henderson, D.D.

Depute Clerks.

James Crawford, W.S.
George Meldrum, C.A.
R. R. Simpson, W.S.

Legal Advisers or Procurators.

Alexander M. Dunlop, Advocate, M.P.
Andrew Jameson, Advocate, Sheriff of Aberdeenshire.
Thomas Cleghorn, Advocate, Sheriff of Argyleshire.
N. C. Campbell, Advocate, Sheriff of Ayrshire.
Charles J. Guthrie, Advocate.

Law Agents.

James Crawford, W.S.
Patrick Dalmahoy, W.S.
John Cowan, W.S.

APPENDIX II

ABSTRACT OF THE SUMS CONTRIBUTED YEARLY TO THE VARIOUS FUNDS AND SCHEMES OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

1843-93.

Year.	Building Funds, Local and General, including Debt Extinction.	Sums Raised for Support of the Ministry.	Ordinary and Miscellaneous Congregational Collections.	Education and Colleges.	Missions at Home and Abroad.	General Trustees and Miscellaneous.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1843-44	227,836 19 10	61,513 6 10	41,540 11 11	4,942 19 2	26,847 14 1	1,190 5 7	363,871 17 5
1844-45	131,737 14 6	76,180 6 7	69,985 15 3	13,224 7 7	40,302 14 10	2,173 4 4	333,604 3 1
1845-46	89,839 14 8	105,153 19 5	45,811 9 8	16,855 17 11	37,507 11 5	1,210 16 8	296,379 9 9
1846-47	85,367 0 2	107,353 19 1	53,039 8 2	18,613 18 0	53,192 3 3	278 2 3	317,844 10 11
1847-48	57,835 5 7	113,098 3 2	47,803 12 4	16,471 16 0	40,103 8 2	434 1 0	275,746 6 3
1848-49	65,992 1 10	111,869 13 5	47,837 18 5	19,970 1 5	28,909 11 5	738 5 1	275,317 11 7
1849-50	77,316 16 2	115,578 7 5	52,983 19 0	16,805 1 6	30,513 8 0	16,247 19 4	309,445 11 5
1850-51	69,950 11 7	121,411 12 0	49,907 4 4	28,006 15 4	36,369 18 3	1,041 18 10	306,688 0 4
1851-52	42,510 7 2	118,414 18 11	55,345 11 7	21,093 10 6	33,225 4 9	2,163 11 8	272,753 4 7
1852-53	42,315 10 9	118,562 2 0	54,219 3 7	23,525 0 7	41,874 5 3	14,662 10 10	295,158 13 0
1853-54	40,777 0 2	135,343 13 9	57,414 2 4	19,494 16 2	38,638 14 3	2,844 5 10	294,512 12 6
1854-55	36,674 13 7	135,077 8 0	58,140 16 9	23,495 1 0	46,885 1 4	11,521 19 10	311,795 0 6
1855-56	35,591 1 1	139,266 7 11	58,802 2 1	18,781 5 2	40,618 1 3	2,609 7 3	295,668 4 9
1856-57	50,218 13 8	144,611 19 8	58,967 1 10	21,217 3 11	36,795 15 4	3,031 6 0	314,842 0 5
1857-58	62,857 14 3	143,703 5 2	63,265 15 0	22,525 13 2	41,066 9 0	3,347 7 9	336,766 4 4
1858-59	50,519 16 0	156,553 1 7	64,211 12 5	26,765 3 8	42,136 5 5	34,935 9 6	375,121 8 7
1859-60	42,571 13 1	149,165 17 6	64,908 9 10	22,859 9 7	42,067 16 8	22,776 9 9	344,349 16 5
1860-61	42,550 15 10	155,946 4 6	66,374 1 0	23,955 18 6	45,783 13 6	8,999 16 3	343,610 9 7
1861-62	42,347 8 0	153,370 3 0	70,815 12 8	29,116 6 8	46,731 5 11	6,855 1 9	349,235 18 0

1862-63	52,990	12	1	157,822	15	6	75,220	0	7	23,484	7	7	37,878	19	6	14,187	5	3	361,584	0	6
1863-64	50,296	3	5	162,583	9	1	69,507	19	5	22,733	13	11	47,767	11	8	7,637	12	2	360,526	9	8
1864-65	44,068	14	4	165,930	17	9	73,434	2	8	25,403	1	2	59,035	11	5	11,358	11	0	379,230	18	4
1865-66	55,188	6	1	180,601	19	2	76,418	17	9	30,326	1	5	53,665	9	6	18,369	6	0	414,569	19	11
1866-67	48,735	1	5	175,877	6	7	78,720	9	7	28,031	6	1	50,496	1	5	11,088	16	2	392,949	1	3
1867-68	59,316	7	0	188,334	7	10	80,265	12	10	25,621	19	10	56,897	7	5	10,520	18	2	420,956	13	1
1868-69	62,318	16	7	192,668	3	6	79,554	10	0	36,514	3	11	62,630	2	3	12,167	3	8	445,852	19	11
1869-70	53,684	11	0	191,784	18	2	83,998	1	0	26,578	3	10	71.358	18	4	24,300	13	5	451,705	5	9
1870-71	43,416	6	3	195,233	3	6	86,886	6	0	31,967	13	5	72,604	14	5	12,212	8	4	442,320	11	11
1871-72	56,682	17	0	198,806	12	6	90,348	12	8	32,859	0	2	66,889	3	2	11,414	15	1	457,001	0	7
1872-73	75,930	16	11	198,004	18	3	95,191	8	6	28,081	14	11	67,719	15	7	13,057	2	1	477,985	16	3
1873-74	52,662	10	6	238,277	4	3	99,764	18	9	34,905	15	2	72,202	18	1	38,963	4	0	536,776	10	9
1874-75	64,178	6	1	234,732	4	6	102,620	9	11	42,258	6	2	96,628	10	6	14,626	13	1	555,044	10	3
1875-76	63,462	18	3	244,750	9	10	110,386	1	8	35,880	2	1	96,531	0	7	22,102	15	10	573,113	8	3
1876-77	89,372	2	5	243,943	16	5	113,451	18	3	44,508	4	10	92,514	2	9	13,411	1	2	597,201	5	10
1877-78	99,531	8	7	255,318	15	1	124,301	17	4	35,906	15	9	80,388	9	0	17,859	11	1	613,306	16	10
1878-79	81,581	4	4	255,716	18	10	121,779	16	9	35,337	14	10	74,363	15	6	17,344	19	4	586,124	9	7
1879-80	76,254	4	9	254,899	19	4	119,760	2	1	34,196	17	1	126,077	9	7	14,816	7	0	626,004	19	10
1880-81	98,643	3	8	261,356	11	6	119,705	1	9	40,923	14	10	90,376	18	2	17,604	7	9	628,609	17	8
1881-82	93,164	19	8	289,861	5	10	125,568	7	2	31,548	3	10	94,953	19	5	15,199	11	6	650,296	7	5
1882-83	81,602	7	6	255,508	16	3	129,655	9	10	33,378	2	3	108,390	2	0	14,525	19	10	623,060	17	8
1883-84	92,119	17	7	259,323	9	0	133,591	14	1	54,063	6	10	117,504	14	1	20,323	11	2	676,926	12	9
1884-85	101,854	13	0	260,978	19	2	132,895	12	5	34,480	12	4	123,745	9	2	14,397	0	11	668,352	7	0
1885-86	61,923	5	7	254,992	10	0	128,436	12	8	43,867	15	0	137,086	13	3	14,650	13	5	640,957	9	11
1886-87	57,882	16	1	255,158	8	11	131,730	8	4	36,373	15	6	120,192	10	9	15,676	12	0	617,014	11	7
1887-88	69,475	16	8	268,162	13	0	135,335	16	0	37,711	9	8	116,215	16	9	17,454	14	5	644,356	6	6
1888-89	85,586	12	0	285,882	14	0	135,302	16	11	43,361	19	8	122,008	14	3	16,627	3	4	688,770	0	2
1889-90	85,119	8	9	277,924	17	2	141,351	15	0	44,277	15	9	137,083	18	10	20,883	6	5	706,641	1	11
1890-91	80,714	9	11	283,058	15	0	146,674	10	4	49,281	11	0	129,431	17	11	20,435	3	1	709,596	7	3
1891-92	70,620	16	4	266,843	6	5	144,904	13	1	40,631	10	0	130,967	10	4	24,617	14	6	678,585	10	8
1892-93	78,815	14	7	258,300	0	11	155,776	2	0	42,739	3	1	142,471	4	1	26,573	10	6	704,675	15	2
	3,482,006	6	3	9,574,814	17	2	4,523,914	13	6	1,494,954	7	9	3,605,648	11	9	661,470	11	2	23,342,809	7	7

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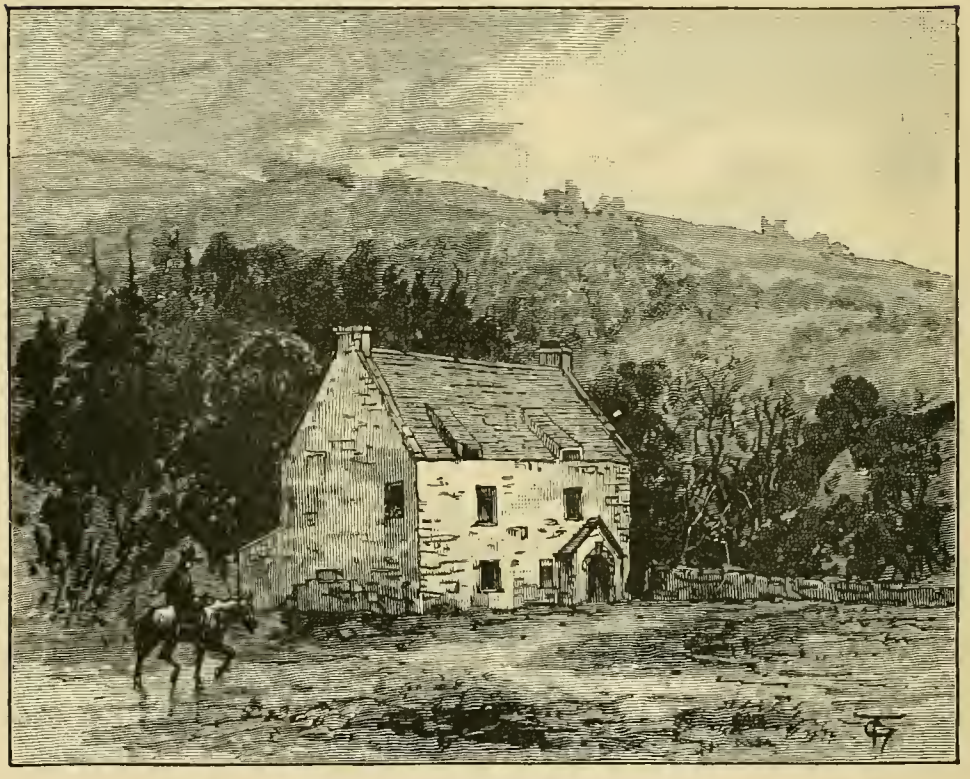

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